Chapter Ten

THE HOME AND GATHERING PLACE OF THE ANIMALS

In the lives and cosmologies of the Lakotas and Cheyennes, the two tribal nations most closely associated with the area of Wind Cave National Park, one of their most powerful and persistent cultural attachments to the region involves the animals. From some of the earliest to the most recent accounts, the Black Hills have always been known as the home, shelter, and gathering place of the animals. Where the drainages of local waterways cut through the sandstones of the Hogback, there are a series of gateways that once allowed the easy passage of animals from the grasslands to the Red Valley or Race Track. In the late fall, animals sought winter shelter at various locations inside the Hogback, and in the spring, they passed through these gateways to reach their feeding grounds on the surrounding grasslands. Humans followed their migrations. They sought the accessible and lower elevation recesses of the Hills for their winter campsites and left them in the spring as they began a cycle of travel that led in the late summer to the open plains for their large communal hunts. In the Black Hills, this transhumance pattern of migration for animals and humans is not only well known through written documents and oral traditions, but there is also considerable evidence for its occurrence in the prehistoric record.

In her important writings on the prehistory of the southern Black Hills, Linea Sundstrom (1989, 1990, 2000) has shown how the canyon passageways of the Hogback were used in prehistoric times. Some of her most interesting findings have to do with the rock art of the area, located most commonly in the canyon gateways of the southern Hills. The earliest rock art panels, which date from the Middle Archaic, some five thousand years ago, depict animals and the shamanistic activity associated with their hunting. Although rock art styles changed over time, many of them appear to have had something to do with ritualized practices bearing on the fertility and hunting of hoofed animals. In Craven, Red, and Whoop-Up Canyons, where the highest concentrations of rock art are found, most of the species depicted are members of the Cervid family, elk or deer. Since most rock art sites are located in and around major gateways to the Hills, Sundstrom (2000) argues that these may have been locations where various ungulate species were corralled and hunted in prehistoric and historic times.

Although not a major site for rock art, the passageway created by Beaver Creek, known as the Buffalo Gap, leads directly to Wind Cave, which is located west of the Race Track along the southeastern shoulder of the Limestone Plateau. Because so much of the cultural importance of this area and the related thermal waters at Hot Springs, are tied to the animals, especially bison, it is important not only to describe the habits of the species who historically resided here but also to explain their cultural place in the practices and worldviews of local tribes, especially the Lakotas and Cheyennes.

I. SOURCE MATERIAL

There is a rich body of material on animals in the histories and traditions of the tribal peoples of the northern Plains. The early nineteenth century trader Antoine Pierre Tabeau (in Abel 1939:76-87) offered detailed descriptions of the habits and habitats of some of the animals

associated with the Black Hills, and he also described some of the ways in which they were procured by the tribal nations who traveled in the area, especially the Arikaras. Nearly fifty years later, in 1854, another trader, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:xxiii, 5-6) would add to this knowledge and write very specifically about the Lakota's relationship to the fauna of the Black Hills. In the intervening years, many explorers and travelers in the region, including Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (in Moulton 1983-87), Maxmilian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347), Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969), and E. De Girardin (1936:62) offered insights about the region's animals and the ways in which they were procured. Most of the early discussions about the fauna of the Black Hills took place at some distance from the area, along the Missouri or Platte River, and much of it was based on secondhand knowledge derived from the eyewitness reports of traders and trappers who wintered in the Hills. In 1823, John Clyman (in Camp 1969), who accompanied a trapping brigade under the leadership of Jedediah Smith, was the first eyewitness observer to write about the Hills. Although his party probably entered the Hills at the Buffalo Gap and crossed the area at its southern reaches, he offers little detail about the animals other than the party's infamous encounter with a grizzly bear.

It wasn't until after the 1850s, when government sponsored expeditionary parties traveled the area, that we get a more detailed record of local animal populations and their whereabouts (Hayden 1862b; Hinman 1874; Grinnell 1875; Jenny 1875; Ludlow 1875; Dodge 1965; McLaird and Turchen 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c; Krause and Olson 1974; Frost 1979; Dodge in Kime 1998). By this time, however, the region's animal demography had changed considerably: bison, for one, no longer held a dominating presence in regions east of the Black Hills. Generally speaking, and with a few notable exceptions (Warren 1875:15-16), these writings offer little direct observation on tribal hunting practices in and around the Black Hills. In later years, a succession of naturalists and biologists came to the Black Hills to study the habits and habitats of the region's fauna. Many of their observations are chronicled and reviewed in Ronald W. Turner's important monograph, *Mammals of the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming* (1974). This is one of several sources (Seton 1929; Pettigrill and Whitney 1965; Froiland 1978; Melius 1995) that this report drew upon in reconstructing the faunal history of the region and also in understanding European American relationships with and attitudes towards various species.

Much of what is known about tribal connections to the animals of the Black Hills comes from Lakota and Cheyenne writings, oral traditions, and winter counts, most of which were published in the twentieth century. Within this literature, there is a rich body of material on tribal knowledge about the region's fauna, on tribal patterns of procurement, and on the symbolism associated with animals in tribal cosmologies and ceremonialism. There are several general references to tribal hunting in and around the Black Hills, and even some statements regarding the specific locales where certain kinds of procurement took place. There is also a good deal of information about Lakota and Cheyenne understandings of the metaphysical significance of the Black Hills and its relationship to local animal populations. Some of the major sources on these subjects for the Cheyennes include George Bird Grinnell's classic ethnography *The Cheyenne Indians* (1972) first published in 1923, Wooden Leg's autobiography (in Marquis 1931), George Bent's (in Hyde 1968) recollections, and John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967) historical and ethnographic commentaries. Karl Schlesier's publications (1974, 1987 1990), John Moore's writings (1974, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1996), and Linea Sundstrom's recent article (2001) on pronghorn procurement are basic sources on these subjects for the Cheyennes as well. For the Lakotas, Francis Densmore's monumental text *Teton Music and Culture* (1918), Royal B. Hassrick's ethnography (1964) *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society*, James Walker's various writings (1905, 1917, 1980, 1982, 1983), William Bordeaux's account (1929), and Henry Standing Bear's texts (1975, 1978, 1988) are essential sources. Also of importance are Joseph E. Brown's book *Animals of the Soul* (1992), and William Power's work *Sacred*

Language: The Nature of Supernatural Discourse in Lakota (1986). In addition, there are Nicholas Black Elk's important accounts as told to John Neihardt (1961; in DeMallie 1984) and Joseph E. Brown (1971). Finally, many other sources, too numerous to mention here, provide additional information on Lakota and Cheyenne relationships to the world of animals.

It must be emphasized that most of the information that exists on the tribal use of animals in the Black Hills is very general. In relation to the vast body of data that exists on the hunting practices of the Lakotas and Cheyennes, and in terms of an equally extensive literature on tribal cultural attitudes towards the many animal species known to have existed in the Hills, only some of the sources actually specify the particular geographic locales where game was taken for food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and other purposes. Nonetheless, there is still a strong enough body of material to reconstruct some general aspects of procurement practices that would have taken place in and around the Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. There is an even more impressive body of material on tribal attitudes towards the animals that were historically associated with the region. Thus, the following discussion focuses largely on the general material about the animals that tribes of the area sought to procure with special attention given to the Lakotas and Cheyennes. It identifies the species historically located at the park, the cultural meanings that were attached to them, the ways in which they were used, some of the contexts in which they were taken, and equally important, the place they occupied in tribal cosmologies and ceremonies. The identification of animals presently located in the park comes from the park's own website, and unless otherwise indicated, all references to animals populations at the park come from its website (Pisarowicz 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d). Since specific information on tribal relationships with animals is enormous, much of it, including the tribal names for different species, is placed in an appendix at the end of the report (Appendix A).

II. FAUNAL DIVERSITY AND CHANGE

In historic times before 1877, the Black Hills contained most of the mammalian species known to local tribes with the possible exception of the raccoon, which had not reached much farther than the mouth of the White River when Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:143) wrote about the fauna of the region in the 1850s. Local tribal peoples saw the Hills as a home and meeting place of the animals, an observation reflective of the region's overall faunal diversity and also the movements of animals in and around the Hills. The area of Wind Cave National Park is especially significant in this regard because part of its land covers a race course where all the animals once gathered and raced against each other to determine who would be the hunter or the prey (see Chapter Fourteen for a detailed discussion of the story).

A. Contemporary Animal Populations

Most of the species present in the Black Hills when European Americans arrived are now part of the panoply of animals that make up the Hill's fauna. Many of these animals are also present at Wind Cave National Park. Today, the Black Hills embrace a large and highly varied number of animal species. More than sixty different varieties of mammals have been reported in the Hills. Over the past century, many of these animals, especially the smaller ones, appear to have maintained their numbers, but some of the larger game disappeared and had to be reintroduced in the early twentieth century. Two species, grizzly bears and wolves, were extirpated from the Black Hills by the early twentieth century and have not been reintroduced. In more recent times, the black bear has disappeared from the Hills as well. Other species always existed here in small numbers, and one, the blackfooted ferret, remains in such small numbers that it is now regarded

as an endangered species (Turner 1974:129-132). The last reported sighting of one at Wind Cave was in 1977 (Ferrell 2002: Personal Communication).

More than two hundred species of birds are also reported in the Black Hills. Of these, one hundred and thirty-nine appear regularly as permanent year-round residents or regular seasonal inhabitants. Eighty-seven other species are described as occasional in the reporting of experienced observers. As with plants, this is an area of hybridization for a number of species from different parts of the continent. The Hills are western and eastern limits for several birds and also outlier zones for some boreal species that nest in the region (Froiland 1978:106-108). Most of the birds found in the Hills have been sighted at Wind Cave National Park, but many of them are uncommon or rare in their appearance. Only forty-one species, or approximately twenty percent of the varieties reported in the Hills, are commonly found inside park boundaries.

There are also at least twenty different species of reptiles and amphibians in the Hills, and some of these are present at Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:97-105). Only a few varieties of fish, crustaceans, and mollusks, however, were ever common in the streams and waterways of the Black Hills. Today, some of the native fish species, or closely related ones, are being restocked in streams managed by government agencies. In the waterways that traverse Wind Cave National Park, including Beaver, Highland and Cold Spring creeks, six species are reported, including one, the brook trout, which is not native to the region (Pisarowicz 2001d).

B. Historic Animal Populations

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Pierre Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939:77), a French fur-trader, was one of the first European American observers to link the Black Hills with the migrations of game and with the movements of the human populations who followed them. He wrote about the abundance of buffalo, deer, and pronghorn along the waterways surrounding the Hills (in Abel 1939:76, 87), including the Cheyenne and White rivers, and he reported on the bear and bighorn that occupied their interiors. In the same decade, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (Moulton 1983-87:3:133-135, 179-180, 182, 222, 482, 4:16, 6:338), based on information they secured from local traders, also described these migrations and some of the distinctive species of animals known to frequent the Hills, notably, the pronghorns, the bighorns, and white booted turkeys. As Clark (Moulton 1983-87:3:482) wrote: "The Black hills is Said to abound in Bear of every kind, and in addition to all those animals common on the Missouri an Animal with verry large horns Curved about the Size of a Small Elk, and a Booted Turkey commonly white..." Over the next three decades, other observers would continue to report on the abundance of game in the Black Hills. Based on his twenty years of experience as a fur-trader on the upper Missouri, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:5-6) described the large numbers of bighorns, mountain lions, and bears of the Hills' interiors and the rich herds of buffalo, elk, and blacktail deer at their base. In the 1840s, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:154, 271-272) gave evidence of the richness of game in the general area,[1] and so did E. De Girardin (1936:62). From these and other early reports, there is no question the Black Hills was an area rich in game and a destination to which local tribal nations traveled on a regular and recurring basis to hunt.

Until the 1840s, the Black Hills stood above some the best bison country in the northwestern plains. As John Ewers (1938:12), one of the Smithsonian Institution's most highly respected

[1] Again, even though some of his descriptions of the "Black Hills" actually refer to the Laramie Mountains, they provide good evidence of the transhumance migrations of local tribes in pursuit of game from the open grasslands to the higher elevation interiors of local mountain ranges.

ethnologists, put it: "The Black Hills furnished the favorite winter home for the buffalo." In subsequent decades, European American observers began to report declines in bison populations, especially in areas east of the Hills and also at locations in the south towards the Platte River (Twiss 1855b:83; Denig in Ewers 1961:22, 25; Hyde 1961:29; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:200; Hurt 1974:242; Price, C. 1996:46-50). Curiously, when E. De Girardin (1936:62) lists the mammals associated with the Hills in 1849, he omits the bison. Elk, bighorns, and antelope, however, were on his list of the species that "abound there." Although bison could still be found around the Black Hills in the 1850s, as evidenced by Warren's description (1875:15-16) of a Lakota bison hunt on the western side of the Hills near Inyan Kara Mountain in 1857, and General William F. Raynolds' sighting of bison near the northern Hills in 1859 (Turner 1974:144), it is clear that the Hills were no longer at the center of the best bison hunting ranges in the plains. In 1862, Ferdinand Hayden (1862a:274) wrote that along the Cheyenne River: "Game is also quite abundant, as elk, deer, and antelope, and in former years, vast herds of buffalo roamed over this region, though at the present time, only now and then a stray bull is seen along this river from mouth to source."

Much has been written about the diminishment of the bison herds on the Great Plains (Bamforth 1987; Flores 1991; Krech 1999). Andrew Isenberg's recent historical synthesis (2000) indicates that a complex set of factors were involved in the bison's decline. In his perspective, a combination of forces, including overkilling by humans, predation from wolves and other carnivores, long periods of drought, severe winters, competition from cattle for good grazing land, and disease brought about their near demise in the 1870s (Isenberg 2000:27). As he observes, populations of bison and other wild ungulates follow erratic cycles of rapid growth and sudden collapse. In the Plains, drought was one of the major forces leading ungulate populations to crash (Isenberg 2000:28-29). By the 1870s, bison had probably overreached the carrying capacity of the grasslands when a sequence of dry years, followed by especially severe winters, reduced available forage. In a situation where bison numbers were already declining from natural forces, an expanding commercial market for their hides contributed even more to the animal's demise.

Before commercial market forces influenced tribal procurement strategies, Isenberg (2000: 85-86) maintains that native hunting practices resulted in sustainable production cycles, in which a tribe's annual take rarely exceeded the predation of their fellow carnivores, notably wolves and bears. He also argues, however, that the increased hunting of local tribes to meet market demands was not an inconsequential part of the bison's eventual decline. When Plains Indians became engaged in a market-oriented production of hides, the scale and intensity of their production increased substantially over what was required for subsistence and indigenous forms of trade (Albers 1996:123-124).

One writer (Krech 1999:142-143) suggests that Plains Indians may not have held a "conservation ethic" as popularly assumed, or their traditional ethics were compromised by market demands because many bison were wasted in some of the large kills reported in the nineteenth century. It is true that many of the bison taken in large surrounds were not consumed. Cows lean from lactation would not have been selected for food when hunted in the spring because their meat was unpalatable and even toxic, although at this time of the year their hides were desirable for certain purposes (Grinnell 1972:1:226; Geist 1996:48). Other cultural factors may also explain why tribes did not take all of the animals at a kill site. For example, there was a belief among many northern Plains tribes that all of the animals surrounded at a communal kill site had to be slaughtered in order to prevent them from warning others what had happened (Geist 1996:45-48; Krech 1999:147-148).

Although the forces of nature and tribal hunting for the market were certainly necessary conditions in the demise of Plains bison herds, these were probably never sufficient to bring the bison to the brink of extinction. The pivotal "last straw" for the bison was the work of the professional bison hunters who moved into the plains in the 1870s to make a livelihood off the animal's hide. Facilitated by the arrival of the railroads, and with the assistance of the U.S. military,[2] bison were slaughtered in mass killings until only a few straggling herds remained in isolated areas of Montana and the Dakotas. It was from these herds that most of today's bison descend (Geist 1996:70-99; Isenberg 2000:123-163).

Whatever the ultimate cause of the bison's decline, their ranges began to constrict dramatically after the 1850s. Although shortages of bison were reported in earlier decades, this was a local fluctuation caused by unusually mild winters and the failure of some of the bison to return to their favorite winter haunts along the valley of the Missouri River (Clow 1995:260-260). By the 1860s, however, the large herds had largely disappeared from the Missouri River and the eastern flanks of the Black Hills, and in subsequent decades, only a few stragglers remained. Ronald Turner (1974:144) claims that 1866 was the date when the last sighting of bison was reported around the Black Hills (Turner 1974:144). In the spring of 1879, Valentine McGillacuddy, the agent at Pine Ridge, wrote in his diary that "there is no buffalo to amount to anything around the Black Hills," which suggests that some strays were still to be found in the area. Indeed, early settlers in the Black Hills remember the last bison being killed at the Buffalo Gap in 1881 (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:221), at Hot Springs in 1882 (Clark, B. 1983:22-23), and at Custer in 1884 (Sundstrom, J. 1994:110).

When military posts were abandoned along the Platte River in regions directly west of the Hills in the 1860s, bison were still abundant, but by 1871, they had largely disappeared from eastern Wyoming and the western edge of the Black Hills (Turner 1974:144). Members of the 1874 Black Hills Expedition did not sight any bison on their long march from the Missouri River to the Black Hills, even though a small number of stragglers still inhabited the country north of the Hills towards the Grand River (Turner 1974:144). Large herds, however, could still be found along the Tongue, Powder, and Yellowstone rivers, and they also remained plentiful along the Arkansas and Republican rivers until professional non-Indian hunters exterminated them in the late 1870s. It was to these regions that many of the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and Arapahos gravitated, often traveling hundreds of miles from some of their winter camps at the base of the Black Hills (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:154-165).

Even though bison were well on the road to their precipitous decline by the 1850s, other species of game especially deer, pronghorn, and elk were still reported as plentiful in the Black Hills through the mid-1870s (Twiss 1856b:95; Hayden 1862b:138-151; Hinman 1874:93; Grinnell 1875:79-84; Saville 1875:250; Tabeau in Abel 1939:76, 77, 87; Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6, 19-20; Dodge 1965:12, 123; Maxmilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Knappen in Krause and Olson 1974:28; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:63, 64, 69; Curtis in Krause and Olson

[2] Valerius Geist (1996:75-77:83-94) argues that the United States military contributed in no small way to the demise of the bison. He presents evidence to show how this arm of the federal government actively aided and abetted the work of professional bison hunters in bringing the bison to the brink of extinction. In fact, General Philip Sheridan traveled to Washington, D.C. in 1875 to oppose a bill introduced the previous year to save the bison from extinction. In his address before a joint assembly of Congress, he claimed that the professional bison hunters were "national heroes" who had done more in their actions to settle the "vexed Indian question, than the entire regular army has done in the last thirty years" (*quoted in Geist* 1996.:91). The military not only thwarted congressional legislation to save the bison but they actively assisted professional bison hunters in their work by providing them free arms and ammunition (Geist 1996:90). Indeed, Geist (1996:90-94) argues that the destruction of the bison was a basic strategy in the U.S. Army's "Total War" against the tribal nations of the plains.

1974:136, 149, 192; Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:133-135, 179-180, 182, 222, 482, 6:338; McClintock 2000:33). In 1862, Hayden (1862a:274), based on his observations in the 1850s, wrote that:"In the vicinity of the Black Hills, the clear, beautiful streams that flow from the mountains swarm with beaver, the prairies are covered with antelope and the wooded valleys and hills are favorite resorts for elk and deer." Like observers six decades earlier, Hayden (1862b:150) described the relationship of the Black Hills to the migratory patterns of certain animals, especially pronghorn, when he noted:

> In the beginning of the winter they may be seen for days following each other in files (if not disturbed) on their way towards the Northwest, leaving the prairie for the more rugged portions of the country near the Black hills, or the foot of the mountains. In the spring, usually about March, they may be seen returning again, and distributing themselves over the open prairie.

In later years, George Bird Grinnell (1875:164) reported the same pattern, and Ernest Thompson Seton (1929:2:421) wrote, "...those on the open country about the Black Hills flock thither from all points of the compass." After the arrival of miners and cattle in 1875, the famed movements of the pronghorns between the Hills and the surrounding grasslands were reduced and ultimately curtailed.

Most of the other large ungulate species, including elk, mule deer, and bighorn, which had been abundant in the region, also started to decline. Early European American settlers commonly hunted all of these animals for sport and subsistence (Bingham 1973:4; Fall River County Historical Society 1974:176, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 298, 1994:31; Friggens 1983:88-89). Some of the settlers even earned their livelihood from hunting and selling the meat and hides of large game animals (Parker, W. 1966:149; Bingham 1973:6-8; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:164; Sundstrom, J. 1994:29-30). By the end of the nineteenth century, the once plentiful herds of elk had been extirpated from the Hills (McAdam 1973:17; Progulske 1974:123-124; Turner 1974:136, 137, 144). Bighorn were rare, and the numbers of antelope and mule deer were declining too (McAdam 1973:17; Turner 1974:137, 147-148). The fact that one of the park's early superintendents reported a single mule deer sighting suggests that this was once a rare occurrence (WCNP Annual Reports, June 3, 1919). Of the major ungulate species, only the whitetail deer appear to have held its own (Turner 1974:139).

Another diminishing species was the beaver (Froiland 1978:143). Some of the first European American trappers who arrived in the Black Hills at the turn of the nineteenth century came in search of this animal. Many stream names in the area, notably French Creek and Beaver Creek, give evidence of their presence. The relative abundance of this fur-bearing animal in the Black Hills, however, was a subject of some debate. Tabeau (Abel 1939:83-84), for one, was not very optimistic about the success of beaver trapping in the Hills when he wrote:

> The Ricaras, to whom mice are mountains, say, of course, that in all the little rivers and on the land which separates them from the Black Hills, the beaver is plentiful; but it is evident that, when asked to enter into details, they regard as an immense number dwellings which they meet with, scattered here and there, and that if they knew and wished to hunt there they would destroy in a year all those that exist in a circle of two hundred leagues (in Abel 1939:84).

Around the same period of time, Lewis and Clark were told by a trader named Jon Vallé, who wintered and spent considerable time in the area, that even though there were few beaver on the Cheyenne River, many were to be found in the Black Hills (Moulton 1983-87:3:133). Whatever their supply, it is clear that a number of traders and their *engages* trapped in the Black Hills

during the early part of the nineteenth century. After the mid-nineteenth century, beaver were described as abundant along many of the western streams that fed the Missouri River (Grinnell 1875:77; De Girardin 1936:62; Progulske 1974:122; Turner 1974:88). Hayden (1862b:146) wrote: "The streams that issue from the Black Hills are favorite resorts of them, and I have often known them to strip the streams of all the timber which skirted their borders." At the end of the nineteenth century, however, a new wave of European American commercial trappers, who included homesteaders and their children, led to the extreme decline of local beaver populations (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:402, 419; Turner 1974:88-89). In the 1930s, several streams in the region, including Cold Spring Creek at Wind Cave National Park, were restocked but with populations from outside locations (Turner 1974:88-89). By the 1950s, they had become so numerous they were in danger of starvation, having denuded much of their riparian food base (Progulske 1974:124).

Carnivores were also abundant in the area (Grinnell 1875:74; De Giradin 1936:62; Tabeau in Abel 1939:78, 81, 163; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Dodge 1965:123). William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition wrote in 1804: "The Black hills is Said to abound in Bear of every kind..." (Moulton 1983-87:3:482), and Thaddeus Culbertson (in McDermitt 1952:57), a Missouri River fur trader wrote in 1851:

> Last night we had a good deal of talk around our fire about the Black Hills. Joe, an experienced hunter, tells me that they are covered with the finest pine timber so thick that a person on horseback cannot pass through it in some places. There is an abundance of fine water but no fish; plenty of other game. Grizzly bears are found there sometimes in bands like buffalo; they live on fruit, meat, and ants; to get to these they turn over the largest logs and eat them off the underside if there.

George Bird Grinnell (1875:75), while traveling with the Black Hills Expedition in 1874, commented about wolves that "hardly a day passed without my seeing several." Early European Americans recalled their presence in and around Wind Cave National Park, and they also remembered seeing coyotes, mountain lions, and bobcats (McAdam 1973:18; Smith, A. 1973:16).

Since many carnivorous species were considered a threat to the livestock of incoming European Americans, they were subject to bounties and systematic policies of extermination (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:253-254, 347, 676; Turner 1974:125). Wind Cave National Park participated in this process too, and the reports of park superintendents reveal that they authorized, participated in, or, at the very least, sanctioned the removal and eradication of wolves, coyotes, skunks, ferrets, and bobcats (WCNP Annual Reports, Dec. 22, 1913, Feb. 2, 1917, Feb. 4, 1918, June 3, 1919, Nov. 1, 1919; Bohi 1962:437). Wolves were extirpated from the area by the early twentieth century and grizzlies at the end of the nineteenth. Black bears had largely disappeared from the region by the 1950s. While cougars, lynxes, bobcats, and several *mustela* populations still remain in the Hills, they do so in small numbers (Bohi 1962:437; Turner 1974:125, 127, 129-132, 134). Only the coyote, skunk, badger, and some of the fox populations escaped the threat of extinction in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974: 124, 126, 132).

Many of the smaller herbivorous mammals appear to have maintained their numbers because most of them were not generally taken for sport or food (Turner 1974:59, 63-64, 71, 76, 83, 105-118, 143, 144). Rabbits were widely hunted, however, and they were an important source of food for some European American settlers (Sundstrom, J. 1977:261). It is hard to judge how other animal populations, notably birds, reptiles, and amphibians, fared over time, since they were rarely singled out or described in the writings of early European American observers, or with the

exception of the wild turkey, specifically identified with the Black Hills. Even though early naturalists (Hayden 1862b; Grinnell 1875), who accompanied the expeditionary parties that traveled the Hills from the 1850s to the 1870s, listed a wide variety of species, they provided very little detail on their habits or habitats. One of the park's early superintendents noted in 1919 that sixty species of birds stayed in the park at different seasons, and that bobwhites and grouse were actually increasing in numbers. Magpies, although prevalent in the park, were viewed with some disdain, and like other carnivores, their "extermination" was encouraged (Bohi 1962:436-437).

By the turn of the twentieth century, what had once been the grand gathering place of the animals and a destination to which tribes from all four directions came in pursuit of game, had become a shadow of its former self, a place where only memories sustained the former glory days of the animals and their predatory human companions. It was not until 1911, when the state of South Dakota began to legislate game laws and when game preserves were established a few years later at Wind Cave National Park and Custer State Park, that the Black Hills could begin to reclaim its former identity as the home and gathering place of the animals.

After being extirpated from the Black Hills for nearly half a century, bison were returned to the area of Wind Cave National Park in 1913 as a gift from the National Bison Society. Seven bulls and seven cows were purchased from the New York Zoological Gardens whose stock had been acquired a decade earlier at the Berkshire Hills Game Preserve in Massachusetts (Turner 1974:144). The game preserve adjacent to Wind Cave National Park became one of five federally owned locations where bison were preserved in 1914. At this point in time, ten percent of the total bison population in the United States was located on federal lands (Isenberg 2000:185). In the coming years, the nation's bison population would expand not only on public lands as protected herds but also on private properties as commercially raised stock. Today, bison are no longer a novelty. Their meat, which is low in fat, has become a popular replacement for beef (Giest 1996:120-127; Isenberg 2000:164-192;). Many ranchers in South Dakota, including those who own properties near Wind Cave National Park, now raise bison commercially for food and/or sports hunting (O'Brien, D. 2002). Today, the largest portion of the bison population in the United States is privately owned and managed.

Bison native to the region of South Dakota were saved through the efforts of Frederick Dupree from the Cheyenne River Reservation. He captured some bison in 1881 and began to domesticate them. Some of these bison were sold to James "Scotty" Philips, originally a mining prospector in the Black Hills, who took up ranching and married an Oglala woman who encouraged her husband to raise bison. Before Philips died in 1919, he managed to build the largest herd of bison in North America on his West River ranch (Casey 1949:17; Schell 1961:247-248; Sundstrom, J. 1977:112; Isenberg 2000:176). His stock formed the base for Custer State Park's bison herd, and one source (Casey 1949:17) claims that some of these ended up at Wind Cave National Park. There is no evidence in park records for the direct acquisition of bison from Philips' stock; however, there is evidence that bison from the two parks sometimes intermingled when the fences separating these parks were not secure (Bohi 1962:462-463). Also, it should be noted that in the summer of 1939, the park donated several live bison to local tribes, including the Oglalas, adding yet another dimension to the close and long-standing connection of this area to the bison in Lakota traditions (Bohi 1962:459-460).

Through the reintroduction of extirpated species and a wide range of conservation efforts, the large game populations of the Black Hills rebounded in the twentieth century. Now, only a few of the carnivores, notably the wolf and the bear, remain absent from the panoply of mammalian species represented in the Black Hills ecosystem (Turner 1974). Today, even though game is still pursued in the Hills, much of the hunting is done as a sport or as a conservation measure rather

than as a means of sustaining peoples' livelihoods. Much of the contemporary appreciation of the region's game by European Americans has evolved out of a tradition of spectatorship associated with the culture of modern tourism. Even more specifically, this industry has been a central component of historical developments at Wind Cave National Park, which draws large numbers of tourists each year not only to the cave, its most prominent attraction, but also to its wildlife, especially its bison, elk, pronghorn, and prairie dogs. In fact, by 1920, some of the park's animal populations were drawing more park visitors than the cave (Bohi 1962:437).

For American Indian people, particularly the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the Black Hills are no longer a major hunting ground. Even though tribal members from the Pine Ridge Reservation continued to pursue game in the Hills through the early decades of the twentieth century (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Clark, B. 1983:68-69), there is little published documentation on the legal or illegal continuation of this practice. By contrast, an impressive body of evidence exists on the persistence of Lakota and Cheyenne cosmological and ceremonial attachments to the Black Hills, which center in one way or another around the animals historically associated with the area and Wind Cave National Park in particular. Today, as in the past, the Hills are still equated with game animals, and they remain a quintessential symbol of nourishment and well-being for the Lakotas as well as the Cheyennes.

III. THE BLACK HILLS IN TRIBAL SUBSISTENCE CYCLES

During the deliberations over the relinquishment of the Black Hills, Red Cloud proposed to sell the Hills' interiors to the federal government (although some people argue his intention was to lease them), but he wanted to retain the area extending between the Race Track and the surrounding plains. As he put it, "Now I will tell you how much of the country I give you. Around the hills is a race-track, (trail) and I sell to the Government inside of that trail" (in Allison 1875:189). Iron Nation gave the same message a year later, in 1876, when he agreed to give up the Black Hills but only that "part from the Racing Ground [meaning the road that runs along the eastern base of the mountain]" (in U.S. Senate 1876:79). Red Cloud and Iron Nation's words are worth remembering because, while the interiors of the Hills inside the Race Track played a role in the annual procurement cycles of local tribes, it was the area extending from the Race Track, through the Hogback, to the surrounding grasslands that was of prime importance in tribal subsistence practices. Commenting on the Cheyennes' probable reaction to Red Cloud's words Father Peter Powell (1981:2:931) wrote:

> Little Wolf and other Ohmeseheso Chiefs present must have been struck by Red Cloud's statement. The racetrack around the Black Hills was sacred to the People, for it was there that Magpie won the Great Race for the People, so that ever afterward the People ate buffalo, instead of the buffalo eating people, as they had done before the Great Race.

Historically, the Race Track and Hogback zones of the Black Hills were the locations where the most abundant populations of game were found, especially during the winter season when Lakota and Cheyenne bands typically encamped at the base of the Hills or in the recesses of their lower elevation valleys. This was the area where some of the richest prehistoric sites are found that give evidence of the importance of the Hills in Native livelihoods (Sundstrom, L. 1990). Importantly, some of the land area that makes up Wind Cave National Park is situated in these zones.

A. Specific Hunting Locations in the Black Hills

In the nineteenth century, many Lakotas and Cheyennes frequented the rich grasslands near Alliance, Nebraska, where bison that wintered inside the Buffalo Gap were known to feed in the summer (Crow Dog in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96). These were the bison that Luther Standing Bear's *tiospaye* followed when he was a child, and it was their pattern of migration that probably led his family to winter at the Buffalo Gap and to do so even after bison had been extirpated from the region (Standing Bear 1975:3, 17-23). The area behind the Buffalo Gap is known in Lakota as *Tatanka makalhpaya* [The Stomping Grounds of the Bison Bull][3] (Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:95; Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:242). And this land, which includes Wind Cave National Park, is commonly referenced in stories about hunters and hunting during the winter months (Curtis 1907-1930:3:111-118; Wounded Horse in Koller 1970:1-2; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Black Elk, H. in Theisz 1975:16-18; LaPointe 1976:80-84; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:24-36, 95; Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:242; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:401-402).

Probably as late as the 1840s, large herds of bison, deer, elk, and pronghorn pressed through the Buffalo Gap to winter inside the Hogback at the foot of Wind Cave, and today, the depression encircling the Hills, known as the Race Track or Red Valley, is a location the National Park Service's bison, elk, and pronghorn herds still frequent (Turner 1974:19-20). Other gateways to the Race Track, near Inyan Kara Mountain, Devil's Tower, and Bear Butte, were also important entries and exits for game and the humans who hunted them, but the Buffalo Gap remains the most famous and the one most often associated with human-bison relationships (Barrett 1913:3-5; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58; Vestal 1934:5-6; Hyde 1937:152-153, 1961:106; Odell 1942:24-25; McKelvie 1960:92-93; Praus 1962:13; Hassrick 1964:12-13; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1988:43-45; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Powell 1982:112; Walking Bull 1980:25; One Bull and White Bull in Stone 1982:23-25; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156, 164, 371; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:158; Moore, J. 1987:165; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107; White, D. 2002:23).

The Black Hills were also the area where local tribes traveled to hunt elk and bighorn, even from locations as far away as the Missouri and Platte rivers (Bordeaux 1929:191-192; Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6; Maxmilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:482; Mallery 1987:117; Bettelyouan and Wagonner 1988:21; White, D. 2002:23). Like other ruminant species, elks follow well established trails in their seasonal movements, and this makes them easy to hunt through driving techniques (Turner 1974:137). At one location, just west of the Hills, is a cliff over which the Arapahos were known to drive elk. It was also the Arapahos' practice, and possibly the Cheyennes', to stack elk horns in ritually arranged ways (Grinnell 1972:1:277). One of these stacks was reported by members of the Black Hills Expedition at Reynold's Prairie, also known as Elkhorn Prairie, in 1874 (Grinnell 1875:78; Ludlow 1875:17; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250). David White (2002:23), based on information gathered by Max Knowles in 1919, writes that elk migrating between the Black Hills and the Badlands were hunted in the vicinity of Rapid City. Bighorns were also taken in the Hills, especially around Bear Butte (Vestal 1934:161-162; Powell 1981:1:112; Grinnell 1972: 1:277). Although there is no documentation of tribal elk or bighorn hunting at Wind Cave National Park, locations along its portion of the Race Track were probably ideal winter-feeding

[3] The word, "*makalhpaya"* refers to a place where the earth has been compressed.

grounds for elk (Turner 1974:19-20). The park's numerous rock shelters and caves may have also offered protection for bighorn, which typically seek out such places during winter storms,[4] and these would have been good spots for local tribes to pursue them in the wintertime.

Deer were also hunted in the Black Hills. The upper reaches of the Cheyenne and White rivers were singled out as two of their favorite haunts in the nineteenth century (Tabeau in Abel 1939:76, 87; Hayden 1862b:149). When members of the 1874 Black Hills expedition encountered one Stab's party in Floral Valley, deer were undoubtedly the game this Lakota group was pursuing (Ludlow 1875:16; Calhoun in Frost 1979:53-54, 59; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:173-174; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:255-256; McAndrews 1974:81). On the same expedition, George Bird Grinnell (1875:78) met a group of Lakota hunting whitetail deer at the head of Elk Creek, and he reported that they waited for deer near this place because it was a spot where these animals "eat the ground" --- in other words a salt lick. Black Elk remembered sighting deer near the Buffalo Gap in May of 1874 while hunting there with his father, and he noted other instances of deer hunts in the region when he was a child (DeMallie 1984:155-156, 335, 342, 357, 369). Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:47-48), a Cheyenne, recounted an incident where a man was bitten by a snake while hunting deer in the Black Hills. Finally, rock art evidence suggests that the Black Hills, especially the southern Hogback, was a popular site for hunting various cervid species in prehistoric times (Sundstrom, L. 1990).

Pronghorn, according to White Bull (Vestal 1934:161), were found in such abundance on the plains that a single herd might stretch more than thirty miles. Several sites for hunting this animal were located at the edges of the Black Hills. In 1851, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:17, 18) remarked about Sicangu Lakotas hunting them on the upper reaches of the White River at a location directly east of the Buffalo Gap. In the same area, near Cache Butte, Samuel Hinman (1874:93) described the remains of antelope and deer at a large abandoned pit and corral. George Hyde (1961:19) also mentioned this area in his history of the Sicangu leader Spotted Tail. Northwest of the Black Hills at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River and on the outskirts of Belle Fourche, South Dakota, is another antelope hunting location commonly mentioned in the oral traditions of the Cheyennes (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972:1:277; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12). In addition, several pronghorn kill sites have been reported in the archaeological literature on the Black Hills, including a number in Fall River County, South Dakota (Sundstrom, L. 2000:126-128).

The Hills were also associated with the hunting of carnivores, especially cougars and bears. Historically, both animals were listed among the animals typically found in the Black Hills (Denig in Ewers 1961:6). White Bull (in Vestal 1934:162) remembered mountain lions in the Black Hills as a child, and another Lakota was reported to have killed four of these animals in the area during the year 1845 (Swift Dog in Praus 1969:16). James Howard (1965a:41) reports that the Poncas recalled hunting bears in the Black Hills over the winter months. White Bull (in Howard, J. 1998:36) talked about hunting bears in the Hills during his early twenties, and Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:157) remembered people eating bear meat near Rapid Creek. Finally, according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:7), the Cheyennes hunted wolves in the Black Hills on horseback.

[4] Ernest Thompson Seton (1929:3:556) observed: "The Sheep and the White Goat are the only horned ruminants herein treated, that habitually use caves for shelter. Elk, Antelope, and buffalo might seek the lee side of a cliff during a blizzard; but the Sheep have well-known selected caves in the rocks, into which they crowd in bad weather."

Of all the species of birds found in the region, eagles are the ones most consistently associated with the Black Hills in tribal cultural traditions. Indeed, the Hills were considered a prime location to trap eagles. The Mandans and Hidatsas considered the Hills one of their favorite locations for eagle trapping (Bowers 1963:209-210). John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:51-52) and Father Peter Powell (1969:415, 427) reported that areas near Bear Butte were favored by the Cheyennes for this purpose. Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:171-172) mentions the Hills as a general location for Lakota eagle trapping but does not cite specific locations for the activity. However, the John Colhoff winter count (in Powers, W. 1963:29) mentions Bald Mountain as a site for this activity, and Samuel Hinman (1874:93) sighted pits for eagle trapping on his journey between the White River and the southeastern Hills.

Another bird with a connection to the Black Hills is the junco. It is a common and permanent resident of Wind Cave National Park, and one variety is known to breed in the Hills. In 1875, George Bird Grinnell (p. 84) described them as "the most common bird in the more elevated portions of the Black Hills." The Lakotas took this bird as a source of food. It had important symbolic value as well, although none of the sources studied for this report give any direct evidence of the bird being hunted in the Black Hills.

For the most part, the Black Hills were linked with the taking of eagles and big game, although smaller avian and mammalian species were undoubtedly hunted here too. Other than fishing, which Luther Standing Bear (1988:65-66) and Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984: 156-157, 161) fondly recalled taking place in Black Hills' streams during their childhood, we were unable to find any specific references to the procurement of these and other small species of animals in this area.

B. Transhumance Movements of Animals and Humans

There is a varied body of information, both historic and ethnographic, that gives evidence of tribal procurement activity in the Black Hills at different seasons and locations. Yet, until recent times, it was the conventional wisdom of many European American writers that the Cheyennes and Lakotas did not "use" the "interiors" of the Black Hills. This idea first appeared in Edwin Denig's writings (in Ewers 1961:5-6), but it did not dominate European American observations until the years of military exploration in the 1870s, as revealed, for example, in the writings of Richard Dodge (1965, in Kime 1998). There is no question, as already discussed, that this idea was much influenced by the historical conditions under which these observations were made. But there is also another consideration, and that is, that most of these writers had little understanding of tribal patterns of transhumance movement, much less an appreciation of how local tribes adapted to and made use of the Hills' different environmental zones in the course of their annual, seasonal production cycles.

It is true that the higher elevation locations of the Black Hills, including the crystalline core and limestone plateau, had the most restricted seasonal use. During the Middle Archaic period, these regions were inhabited on a year-round basis. By the historic era, however, they were utilized mostly in the late spring and early summer months on a regular and recurring basis. Small family and band groups customarily entered these regions to secure lodgepoles, to gather medicinal plants, and to perform ceremonial observances including eagle trapping (Hinman 1874: 95; Jenny 1875:182; Newton and Jenny 1880:323; Bordeaux 1929:191-192; Bushnell 1922:70; Chittenden 1935:728; DeGirardin 1936:63; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Hassrick 1964:155; Dodge 1965:137, Dodge in Kime 1998:105; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:270-271; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; Moore, J. 1981:14; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161, 173; Brown 1992:12; Good-

man 1992:11-12).[5] In this season, fishing commonly took place along some of the Hills' higher elevation waterways (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161; Standing Bear 1988:65-66). In the summer of 1846, according to Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:270-271), the Hills were "thickly populated by people" securing lodgepoles. By the 1870s, when military expeditions started to enter the Hills in the summer months, the number of tribal people sighted in the area was small. As already reported, members of the 1874 Black Hills Expedition encountered a small band in the Floral Valley led by the Lakota leader One Stab (Grinnell 1875:78; Ludlow 1875:17; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250), and the following year, Dodge's party (in Kime 1998:79) came across the remains of a recent encampment near this location. At many of these camps, there was evidence of lodgepole processing and other procurement activity. Since skins were being dried and processed at One Stab's camp, we can also presume that animals were being taken at this time of the year, but this was not the prime season for hunting in the Hills (Hassrick 1964:154-155).

The period between late fall and early spring was the time of the year tribes typically hunted in the Black Hills. The higher elevation interior areas of the Black Hills were probably systematically hunted for bighorn, elk, bear, mountain lion, and other animals when their hides and furs were in prime condition. In 1875, Henry Newton and Walter Jenney (1875:302) reported that the interiors were traveled when snow covered the ground because stones placed in the forks of trees marked the main trails. In commenting on Cheyenne use of the interior Black Hills, Father Peter Powell (1981:2:932) reports that the Cheyennes did not typically camp in this region, although they frequently entered it to hunt. Much of this hunting, however, was conducted by hunters operating alone, with a companion, or in small parties (Howard, J. 1965:41). The hunting probably included the "French" trappers, who sometimes remained over the winter months in the interiors of mountainous areas, such as the Black Hills, with their American Indian wives, families, and companions (Parkman in Feltskog 1969:272).

It was the lower elevation areas of the Hills, between the edge of the limestone plateau and the Hogback perimeter, that were the most important locations for hunting game over the late fall and early winter months. This includes the region where Wind Cave National Park is now located. These were the places where some bands typically wintered and where hunters from near and far commonly came to procure deer and elk (Barrett 1913:3-5; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58; Vestal 1934:5-6; Hyde 1937:152-153, 1961:106; Odell 1942:24-25; McKelvie 1960:92-93; Praus 1962:13; Hassrick 1964:12-13, 164; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1988:43-45; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Powell 1982:112; One Bull and White Bull in Stone 1982:23-25; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156, 164, 371; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:158; Moore, J. 1987:165; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107). They were also the locations where herds of bison and pronghorn once sought shelter during wintertime, and again, it is not insignificant that most of the Lakota traditions about Wind Cave involve hunters and hunting. As described earlier in Chapter Seven, the bands with localized relations to the Black Hills would have drawn on this area's game resources from early November through March, a span of time covering much of their yearly subsistence cycle. But even small hunting parties from bands that wintered some distance from the Black Hills still traveled to the area and spent significant amounts of time there during some of their late fall and early winter hunts (Howard, J. 1965a:41; Maxmilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:482; Bettelyoun and Wagonner 1988:2).

[5] This is deduced from the fact that eagles were commonly trapped in the Black Hills (see earlier discussion) and the common seasons for carrying out this activity were spring and fall (Grinnell 1972:1:299-300).

The best time of the year to hunt bison and other game animals for meat is from August through December when their body mass contains a high proportion of fat (Binnema 2001:50-51). After January, the fat is rapidly depleted, and by early spring, the meat is unpalatable and even toxic because of the reduction in fat (Binnema 2001:51). Animals might have been around at this time of the year, but they were probably not taken for their meat. Early spring was the season when the Lakotas were reported to procure elk, deer, and pronghorn for their skins (Hassrick 1964:154-155). The Cheyenne told George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:226) that bison were taken at this time of the year for making tipis because their hides were easier to dress.

Surrounding the Hills, the upland prairies and sagebrush steppes, or the "flats" as they are called in the contemporary English vernacular of the Lakotas, held rich bison and antelope hunting ranges until the 1840s. These were also the locations where tribes moved to hold their annual or semiannual communal hunts, but they were rarely occupied for more than a few months in the late summer and early fall (Hassrick 1964:156). The river valleys of the Cheyenne and the neighboring White River were utilized on a more sustained basis, however. These were popular spots for the winter encampments of some bands, and the locations where the Cheyennes and possibly the Lakotas practiced casual forms of horticulture. They were areas where hunters pursued deer, especially the whitetails, which were known to frequent their wooded valleys, and they were also the places where tribes built corrals and pits to drive pronghorn in historic times (Hinman 1874:93; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Ewers 1938:4; Denig in Ewers 1961:17, 18; Hyde 1961:19; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972:1:277; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12; Sundstrom. L. 2000:126-128).

Once again, it is important to stress the fact that historic tribal economic adaptations were associated with nomadism and the ability to quickly and constantly relocate settlements according to the migrations of local game (see Chapter Seven). Tribal movements were closely attuned to the seasonal routes the game followed, and many of these involved transhumance migratory patterns. But they were also influenced by broader and more long-lasting shifts in game locations. Over long spans of time, the ranges covered by bison in the plains underwent dramatic expansions and contractions due to long-term climatic changes and also the effects of contagious disease on their human predators (Geist 1996:38-41; Isenberg 2000:27). There is good evidence that epidemic diseases swept the plains and reduced local tribal populations well before European Americans actually arrived in the area (Geist 1996:38-41). In the short-term, local bison populations fluctuated in their appearance (Epp 1988). Sometimes the animals failed to return to their customary wintering grounds during unusually mild winters. In 1832 and 1833, many of the Lakotas encamped along the valley of the Missouri River faced hunger and starvation when bison failed to return and remained on the high plains (Clow 1995). Periodic and localized shortages of bison were also reported along the Platte River in the 1840s during drought years. Tribal populations needed to be prepared for these eventualities, and Andrew Isenberg (2000:39) argues that one way they did so was by following flexible land use patterns and multiple game strategies that provided "safety nets" in the face of the bison's unpredictable movements. Reliance on a wide spectrum of game and other food sources made tribes, as he put it, "less vulnerable to fluctuations in environment and food resources" (Isenberg 2000:3 9). One of the reasons why the Black Hills and the area of Wind Cave National Park were so highly valued is that they provided local tribes with a broad spectrum of game and plant food. They were, indeed, an emergency reserve or "safe" as Spotted Bear (in Allison 1875:188) once put it, a place groups could always rely on and periodically return to when other areas failed to provide sufficient supplies of food (cf. Circle Bear 1971:13).

Food was not the only consideration in determining tribal movements. As suggested by some of the evidence presented in previous chapters, the accessibility of good pasturage for a tribe's

growing herds of horses was also a factor. In addition, the locations of traders influenced patterns of movement. In the early part of the nineteenth century, tribes living in the area of the Black Hills regularly traveled to the Missouri River to trade, and after 1830, many started to trade at posts along the Platte River. These trips usually took place in the fall after the communal bison hunts, when tribes had bison robes and dried berries to trade, but they also appear to have taken place in spring and early summer, a time when horses were often bartered. Whatever the case, the Cheyennes and the Lakotas covered large stretches of territory in their annual travels. In doing so, they drew on different kinds of economic partnerships, including intertribal ones, and they relied on multiple kinds of environments in which the Black Hills played an important role in their lives. While most of the bands never lived inside the Hogback year-round, many certainly spent enough time in this area over certain seasons, notably late fall to early spring, to classify this as their home and homeland.

As documented in earlier chapters, some of the groups who customarily wintered at or near the Black Hills and/or who used them in the spring for subsistence and ceremonial purposes moved away from the area to find locations where productive bison hunting ranges still remained and/or where there was adequate pasturage for their expanding horse herds. Nonetheless, they still returned to the Hills for specialized kinds of procurement and/or to conduct religious observances (Moore, J. 1981:14). Even after the Black Hills were taken in 1877, there is evidence that Lakotas continued to procure small game (e.g., grouse) in some parts of the Hills during the fall through the early decades of the twentieth century (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). In later years, there is little information on the utilization of the Hills for this purpose, although there is considerable evidence that the Lakotas and the Cheyennes continued to return to the Hills in the late spring and summer to cut their lodgepoles, to gather plants for food and medicine, and to collect stones for healing and religious observance (see Chapter Eleven).

IV. METHODS OF TAKING ANIMALS

The Cheyennes and Lakotas followed a wide range of techniques for taking animals, and it is best to describe these according to the kinds of animals they pursued, beginning with the most important ones, the ungulates, followed by carnivores, small herbivores, birds, reptiles/amphibians, and then, fish/mollusks.

A. Ungulates

Of the ungulates, bison were of paramount significance in the livelihoods of local tribes. This animal provided materials for many functions and served as a primary, but probably never an exclusive, source of meat (Wedel and Frison 2001:56). Other large ruminants, bighorn, pronghorn, deer, and elk, occupied a substantial place in tribal diets as well. Indeed, some scholars (Ewers 1938:17; Hassrick 1964:164; Grinnell 1972:1:276) argue that these species were probably as important as bison during the winter and early spring, and this would have been especially true after 1840 when bison ranges became contracted and restricted to areas away from the Hills.

When deer and elk were the principal source of game in late fall and early winter, solitary hunters or small groups used stalking or snaring techniques to capture them (Vestal 1934:160-161; Hassrick 1964:167; Grinnell 1972:1:272, 277; Standing Bear 1988:55-56). Bison and pronghorn were pursued more opportunistically as well at this time of the year. Lone hunters were reported to hunt them on foot, but the animals were difficult to take this way (White Bull in Vestal

1934:161; Grinnell 1972:1:262; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156). The small hunting parties that prevailed in the late fall and winter seasons were known in Lakota as the *tate* (Hassrick 1964:166), the same name used for one of the spiritual patrons of the hunt, the Wind. Importantly, the season of elk and deer hunting was the time of the year when Lakotas and Cheyennes were geographically dispersed at camping sites in and around the Black Hills and other mountainous locations or wooded river valleys (Hassrick 1964:166; Grinnell 1972:1:262).

Deer, elk, and other game were also taken during the wintertime using communal hunting methods. Throughout the Plains region, Native peoples drove game over cliffs and banks or into snowdrifts, natural enclosures, and specially constructed corrals or pounds to kill them. Most of the hunts that relied on these methods appear to have taken place on the grasslands and in the river valleys surrounding the Hills, but there is evidence that some of the Black Hills' narrow canyon gateways were a location for this kind of hunting prehistorically, and so were sites inside the Hogback, including the Sanson bison jump (CU02) on lands adjoining Wind Cave National Park and possibly inside park properties near the modern day bison corrals (Sundstrom. L. 2000: 127-128). As described in various accounts (Hayden 1862b:150; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 88; Ewers 1938:42-43; Hassrick 1964:167, 176, 177-178; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:85; Grinnell 1972:1:264-265, 268, 277-290; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Schlesier 1987:52-61; Sundstrom, L. 2000:119-121), pens or corrals for impounding game were typically constructed under a "bluff or cutbank" with at least one wall serving as a side for the enclosure. The opposite side was constructed of brush and sticks. The two sides were fashioned into a v-shaped chute formation, with the opening of the enclosure facing the prairie. The animals were both enticed and driven into this space with the participation of all members of the camp, men, women, children, and the elderly. Once the herd was in the enclosure, they were killed with lances or arrows.

Another technique involved driving animals over cliffs or steep embankments. Here animals were driven between parallel lanes constructed of stones and brush and forced to plunge over the precipices to which they were directed. Although this method has been mentioned in the writings on Lakotas and Cheyennes (Ewers 1938:42-45; Grinnell 1972:1:267-268), there are no detailed descriptions of it in the literature. William Bordeaux (1929:122), however, describes a practice where bison were driven into bogs and marshes. The absence of detailed descriptions of this hunting method might suggest that it was used less frequently than among tribes living on the high plains of Montana. Another very common method, reported in historic sources on the Lakotas and Cheyennes, was to drive bison into snowdrifts (Bordeaux 1929:122; Ewers 1938:42; Grinnell 1972:1:268; Hassrick 1964:177-178; Clow 1995). This was accomplished on foot, usually with the use of snowshoes. In fact, during the winter season when the ground is covered with deep snow, horses are not very helpful in the pursuit of game (Binnema 2001:49).

Prior to the widespread adoption of horses, bison were typically hunted using various driving techniques during late fall and early winter. The early months of winter were the best time of the year to take bison because their robes were thick and the nutritional value of their meat was high (Binnema 2001:50-51). Unlike the far northern plains, where there are rich eyewitness accounts of communal winter hunts, using pedestrian driving and impounding techniques (Binnema 2001: 35, 37-54), little has been written about these methods of hunting in the Black Hills area. We can presume, however, that when bison were still prevalent in and around the Hills, prior to 1840, they were pursued in this way during the wintertime. Indeed, much of the area inside the Hogback and in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap would have been well suited to this type of hunting. Severt Young Bear (in Parlow 1983a:26-27), however, reports that there were strictures against hunting bison in the Black Hills during the winter months. This may very well have been the case in late historic times when bison were taken mostly through equestrian methods rather than on foot, and

it may very well have applied to interior locations inside the circular depression of the Race Track.

With the arrival of horses, the communal hunting of bison typically took place on the grasslands where the herds gathered in the late summer and early fall. After 1840, these areas were generally situated at some distance from the Black Hills, although Warren (1875:15-16) observed one of these hunts near Inyan Kara Mountain in 1857. Here bison were surrounded, or as some observers claim "herded" (Seton 1929:2:688) and hunted on horseback using lances, bows and arrows, and rifles as weapons. Large groups of hunters were assembled for the communal hunts, and they often traveled long-distances, five to seven days march, with their families and bands to reach the location of a large herd. According to Henry Crow Dog (in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96), the herds that wintered at the Buffalo Gap migrated to the grasslands around Alliance, Nebraska in the summer, a distance of more than one hundred miles, or five days travel, for the Lakota bands who wintered in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap. Before the 1840s, the grasslands east of the Cheyenne River in South Dakota and south of the White River in Nebraska, were the locations where Lakotas and Cheyennes who wintered in and around the southern Hills probably traveled to hunt bison in the late summer and early fall. In later years, when bison began to disappear from these regions, local tribes had to travel farther for their summer hunts to destinations south of the Platte River or northwest of the Hills in the country of the Powder and Tongue rivers. Over time, and as the distances to these hunting grounds became greater, many bands began to relocate their winter camps at sites in closer proximity to the bison. As a result, fewer people probably used the southern Hills and the area around the Buffalo Gap after 1850. As discussed in Chapter Seven, the bands that remained in the Black Hills were the ones who followed more variegated subsistence strategies, which included, besides bison, a heavy reliance on elk, deer, and pronghorn.

During the season of the communal bison surrounds, the hunters and their camps operated under strict marshal law. This law was in effect during the trip to the bison range, after they arrived at their destination and began preparations for the hunt, and during the actual chase. Detailed descriptions of these hunts among the Lakotas and Cheyennes are found in many different sources (Warren 1875:15-16; Densmore 1918:436-447; Curtis 1907-30:3:8-10; Bordeaux 1929:122, 124; Ewers 1938:42-44; Hoebel 1960:53; Hassrick 1964:174-178; Grinnell 1972:1:262-263; Standing Bear, L. 1975:49-53, 58-66; Walker 1982:74-94; Black Elk in DeMallie1984:147-148; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:143-147), and these are summarized in Appendix A. Over time, the surround hunts in the late summer supplanted the communal pursuit of bison in the wintertime. Among the Cheyennes, however, if a lone hunter or small party came upon a large herd of bison during the winter months, they could not chase them on their own. Instead, they had to make the herd's presence known to the entire camp, so the leaders and their marshals could organize a communal hunt, which usually involved drives and corrals (Grinnell 1972:1:262).

The older and more traditional methods of taking game by driving and impounding were highly ritualized, and according to Karl Schlesier (1987:53), the Cheyennes considered these to be the proper and most respectful way to kill game. When Cheyennes drove bison into pounds, they often left stacked piles of bison horn in a manner similar to the Araphoe practice of piling up elk horns. These stacks appear to be connected to a widespread pattern of propitiating the spirits of slain animals common among many of the tribal nations who spoke an Algonkian language. This custom has not been described for the Lakotas. Grinnell reported that numerous piles of bison horns were seen at locations west of the Hills when he traveled there with the Black Hills Expedition in 1874 (Grinnell 1972:1:268). He also reported the ritualized display of skulls, a practice of both tribes (Grinnell 1875).

The Cheyennes and the Lakotas relied on spiritually gifted people to attract game, to sanctify their communal hunts, and to offer gratitude to the spirits of the animal at its conclusion. This applied to hunts that followed surround as well as impounding procedures (Densmore 1918:436-447; Howard, J. 1980:50-51; Walker 1982:90-91; Schlesier 1987:53). Unlike bison, pronghorns continued to be commonly taken using some of the older and more traditional methods of impounding (Hayden 1862b:150; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Hassrick 1964:167, 176, 177-178; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:85; Grinnell 1972:1:277-290; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Schlesier 1987:52-61; Sundstrom. L. 2000:119-121). Mule deer were also sometimes captured in this manner, and the famous pound at Cache Butte, just east of the Buffalo Gap, contained the remains of deer as well as pronghorn (Hinman 1874:93).

B. Carnivores

As in European American taxonomic systems, the Lakotas and Cheyennes separated the carnivores from other species of mammals. Most of the larger carnivorous species these tribes hunted, including wolves, coyotes, cats, and bears, were not taken as food except under emergency conditions or for ceremonial purposes, although some of the smaller species, particularly badgers and skunks, were widely eaten. Generally speaking, carnivores were hunted mostly for their skins and rarely for their meat. Some of them, such as coyotes and wolves, were also kept as pets (Hassrick 1964:172; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:318). Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:318) recalled a Lakota named Moves Walking, who trained the wolf pups he reared to become pack dogs. Before and even after the arrival horses, dogs were vital to the Lakotas and Cheyennes as beasts of burden, a means of protection, and also for hunting smaller mammals (Hassrick 1964: 156-159; Grinnell 1972:1:55-56).

Most carnivorous species were taken by trapping them in deadfalls whose structure and size varied according to the animal. Coyotes and small wolves were caught in this way, and among the Lakotas, young boys sometimes did the trapping (Vestal 1934:7). Larger wolves were trapped by the Cheyennes in deep holes, baited with meat and covered with leaves and twigs (Grinnell 1972: 1:297-299). They also hunted them on horseback (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:7). Bears were taken by both tribes (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:290), and among the Lakotas, they were typically captured in deadfalls (Hassrick 1964:167). The Lakotas and Cheyennes used pens and a variety of other trapping devices to catch foxes (Vestal 1934:7; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:167, 168; Grinnell 1972:2:298-299). Badgers were also captured in pens, or they were taken after jumping on the animal's back and crushing its backbone (Hassrick 1964:169, 172). Mountain lions, lynxes, and bobcats were pursued as well, but none of the sources we reviewed describe how they were taken (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Praus 1962:16; Hassrick 1964:1 68; Grinell 1972:1:256; Walker 1980:169). The same is true for skunks (Beckwith, M. 1930:380-381, 420; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:168).

C. Small Herbivores

Many of the smaller herbivorous mammals were a common source of food pursued mostly by women and young boys. In fact, Standing Bear (1988:13-15*)* writes, it was not only a common practice for boys to pursue rabbits, prairie dogs, and other small game, but also a fundamental part of their educational training to become adult hunters. Lakotas and Cheyennes captured all species of rabbits (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Denig in Ewers 1961:13). The typical mode of taking a rabbit was to surround the animal and kill it with clubs (Hassrick 1964:168; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:158-159; Standing Bear 1988:13-15). Squirrels were also important in the

hunting forays of young Lakota boys, who killed them with bows and arrows (Black Elk in De Mallie 1984:158-159; Standing Bear 1988:15). Lakota boys shot prairie dogs with arrows as well (Hassrick 1964:168), although White Bull told Stanley Vestal (1934:7) that he usually snared these animals with a noose. Cheyenne women hunted prairie dogs by surrounding and clubbing them (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9).

Most of the smaller herbivores were hunted opportunistically, although adult men pursued some of them systematically. Beaver, for example, were one of the smaller mammals commonly trapped by men (Standing Bear 1978:34). The Cheyennes used dogs to drive them out of their dams, after which they shot or clubbed them (Grinnell 1972:1:296). The Lakotas smoked the animals from their holes and then clubbed them to death (Hassrick 1964:168). Porcupines were also widely hunted by both tribes (Lyford 1940:42; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:204-205). John Ewers (1938:59) maintained that capturing porcupines was "men's work." Later ethnographic descriptions, however, reveal that both men and women took porcupines by twisting and tangling their fur with sticks and killing them with clubs after they were dragged from their dens (Hassrick 1964:168). Men, however, appear to have been the only ones who pursued them with bows and arrows (Ewers 1938:59; Lyford 1940:42).

The smallest species of mammals, including mice, voles, shrews, and gophers, were not usually taken by the Lakotas and Cheyennes for food, although some of them were captured and used for manufacturing purposes. One species, the pocket gopher, was widely avoided because it was believed to cause scrofulous swellings.

D. Birds and Insects

Traditionally at least, the animals associated with the sky, which also includes bats, were viewed as a source of protection rather than an object of consumption. Nevertheless, a few species of birds were hunted and trapped for food (Hassrick 1964:168), but a greater number were captured for their feathers, which played significant symbolic and ceremonial roles in Lakota and Cheyenne cultures. Some culturally significant insects were taken for healing and ceremonial use as well, and during times of starvation, the Lakotas were reported to have eaten grasshoppers (Kelly 1933:123-124).

Birds were commonly clubbed, snared, and trapped but rarely shot (Bordeaux 1929:200; Hassrick 1964:169, 170-171; Grinnell 1972:1:247-248, 299-307). Lakota hunters captured crows by hiding under pine boughs to which small pieces of fat were affixed, and they trapped magpies for food in the same way (Hassrick 1964:172). Young boys often took small land and game birds in mimicking adult hunting (Vestal 1934:7; Hassrick 1964:168; Grinnell 1972:1:114-115). According to Royal B. Hassrick (1964:278), the taking of birds by boys not only supplied added food, even delicacies, to the diet, but it also gave a child a feeling of good service to his family. Luther Standing Bear (1975:10-11) details the important role that bird hunting played in the lives of young boys when he was a child. The Lakotas and Cheyennes also kept certain species of birds, notably crows and hawks, as pets (Hassrick 1964:172; Grinnell 1972:2:108).

Eagle trapping was considered a sacred endeavor and conducted with careful ritual preparation. Among the Cheyennes, as described by George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:299-302), only older men with experience as warriors were allowed to catch eagles. After weeks of ritual preparation, the trapper dug a pit large enough to sit down in, covered it with sticks and grass, and baited it with wolf skin and a bit of meat. During the night just before sunrise, the trapper entered the pit and waited until the eagle arrived, at which point he grabbed its feet and strangled the bird.

Similar ritual preparations surrounded eagle trapping among the Lakotas as described by Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:171-172), William Bordeaux (1929:199-200), and Luther Standing Bear (1988:79-84). Eagles were usually caught in the spring at the time of their arrival in tribal territories and in the fall before their departure to warmer climates (Grinnell 1972:1:300). Plains Apaches considered the spring the best time to trap eagles because their feathers were less likely to be blemished (Blackbear in Schweinfurth 2002:68).

E. Amphibians and Reptiles

Most amphibians and reptiles were not procured for any practical purpose. Instead, they were valued as a source of protection, and when taken, they were used in healing and religious observances. The only animal that was routinely captured for food was the turtle. Adults and children of both tribes caught turtles by waiting for them to surface and then diving into the water to catch them with their hands, or else, they watched for them to sun themselves in the early morning on the shores of lakes and rivers (Bordeaux 1929:200; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:07; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Standing Bear 1988:63-65).

F. Fish, Mollusks, and Crustaceans

The northern plains region is not typically associated with fish, and at least historically, some observers claim that certain tribes were loathe to eat them. Although fishing was not a major subsistence pursuit for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, it was a routine activity that supplemented and added variety to local diets (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:89; Hoebel 1960:64; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:114; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9). It was also another common occupation for young boys (Grinnell 1972:1:114; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 156-157, 161; Standing Bear 1988:65-66). The Lakotas and Cheyennes fished for suckers, dace, and catfish, and they used a variety of different techniques to do so. Some of the more popular methods entailed seining fish (Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:48, 308) and catching them with bone hooks, some of which were made from the ribs of mice. The hooks were attached to a long line made of bison sinew or horsehair (Bordeaux 1929:130; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 89; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Standing Beaar 1988:66-67). The Cheyennes and Arikaras also caught fish in pens made of willow saplings, which were built under the supervision of a medicine man. Such traps were commonly used to capture suckers (Curtis 1907-30:6: 156; Gilmore 1924; Grinnell 1972:1:311). The Lakotas speared fish and often used spiritually talented people "to call" them to the sites where they were taken (Hassrick 1964:173; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161). Both tribes also collected mollusks and crustaceans, but there are no reports of how this was done (Bordeaux 1929:334).

V. ANIMAL HUMAN-RELATIONSHIPS

The relationship of local tribal nations to the animals of the Black Hills was a source of their sustenance, tools, and shelter, but more critically, it was a foundation of their spiritual strength and protection. Importantly, Lakota and Cheyenne understandings of the animals, and by extension, their relationship to the Black Hills, was not merely about their access to animals in a pragmatic sense; it was also about their relationships to the spirits of these animals whose places of origin and regeneration were located in the Hills. Historically, the Black Hills were understood as the place where the very nature of tribal relationships to the animals was defined and codified. Even today, the Black Hills remain a very special area to the Lakotas and Cheyennes because they speak to and engage broader cosmological questions that stand at the very heart of the way

these tribal nations see their place in the universe. As such, it becomes especially critical to gain a more particular appreciation of how the Lakotas and their closely related allies, the Cheyennes, saw themselves in relationship to the various animal species which historically inhabited their worlds and the Black Hills in particular.

A. Conceptualization and Classification

In Cheyenne and Lakota worldviews, animals are categorized not so much by their anatomical properties and phylogenetic relationships as they are by their behaviors and spiritual potentialities. Consistent with their larger cosmological precepts, the Cheyennes tend to distinguish animals, plants, and other living things according to the particular strata they occupy in the universe from the highest Blue Sky position, *Otatavoom*, to the lowest depths of the earth, *Nsthoaman* (Schlesier 1987:4-6). By contrast, the Lakotas tend to organize much of their phenomenal world along directional lines (Powers, W. 1977:75-77, 191-193, 198-199, 1982:54, 1986:81-82, 138-140). The Lakotas have vertical divisions too, just as the Cheyennes have horizontal orderings. While the differences between the two tribes are clearly ones of emphasis, they are substantial enough to create very different sensibilities about the relationship of humans to their landscapes and the animals, plants, and other living beings that reside there.

The Cheyennes believe that all life forms are associated with seven different levels of the universe (Schlesier 1987:8-9; Moore, J. 1986:179-180; 1996a:203-206, 211). The highest point at the zenith, *Otatavoom*, the Blue-Sky, is occupied by the male spiritual presence, *Ma'heo*, the Sun, Moon, and the Stars as well as the sacred or holy birds, vultures, magpies, woodpeckers, eagles, and butterflies. At the nadir or the deep earth, *Nsthoaman*, is the place of the female spiritual presence, *Esceheman*, and the sacred caves of the *Maiyan*, the spiritual guardians that steward and protect game animals. Below the blue sky are two spaces: the *Setovoom* is the tier occupied by clouds, mountain peaks, and great birds, the hawks and crows, and the *Taxtavoom* is the region of the atmosphere just above the earth, the source of air and wind, which is occupied by small, ordinary birds and most flying insects. The surface of the earth, the *Votostoom*, includes the land on which most animals and humans reside and the waters in which fish and various aquatic species dwell. The *Votostoom* and *Taxtavoom* are the tiers that "ordinary" creatures, who lack special powers, inhabit. The *Atonoom*, the area just below the earth's surface, is occupied by the animals who burrow in the ground and the bison, bears, badgers, and wolves who live in earth depresssions, caves, and dens (Schlesier 1987:8-9; Moore, J. 1986:179-180; 1996a:203-206, 211).

According to John Moore (1986:184), the Cheyenne's "concept of 'species" implies symbolic or religious rather than reproductive significance. So when the appearance of an individual animal changes, its symbolic importance changes, and therefore its species also changes." The Cheyennes divide avian species, for example, into three families (which also includes many insects) identified as the "holy" [*Ma'heonevekseo*], the "great" [*Maxevekseo*], and the "ordinary" [*xamaevekseo*]. These three groups are considered to live in different tiers of the cosmos, the Blue Sky-Space [*Otovoom*], the Near Sky-Space [*Setovoom*], and the Atmosphere [*Taxtavoom*]. Each of these families of birds has a different function in Cheyenne religious observances. Holy birds are the ones used by the priests who conduct major ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and the renewal of the Sacred Arrows (Moore, J. 1986:178-179, 1996a:210-211). Under the category of holy birds is a special class called "whirlwinds," which is made up of two insects, butterflies and dragonflies, two birds, eagles and vultures, and a meteorological event, the tornado. All five share the funnel-shaped configuration, which John Moore (1986:182) states is a very significant feature in Cheyenne religious symbolism. The four kinds of whirlwinds form a complete cosmological set: white and green represent the north and south axis, while red or yellow and black

symbolize the east and west. Great birds are used by people Moore (Ibid:178-179) calls "war doctors," but they are also associated with healing and other kinds of religious practice. Ordinary birds, which are used by healers in treating various diseases and injuries, represent the largest class of birds. According to Moore (Ibid:181), the "ordinary birds" are divided, in turn, into three groups: the "small birds," "ground birds," and "water birds." Most of the birds emphasized in the Cheyenne's taxonomic system represent species the Cheyennes observed when they still lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills.

Animals [*manston*] are divided into four groups (Moore 1996:210-211), distinguished by size, habitat, and forms of locomotion. Besides the birds [*zeevseossomo-tomevo*], there are the land animals [*zeevsohoeva*], which include the predators [*emhoneheo*], the game animals [*mevavon*], and small animals [*veshovan*]. Another group is made up of the crawling creatures [*zeamevonseo*], the snakes, reptiles, and amphibians, and the final consists of the water creatures [*zeevasomapeva*], the fish, mollusks, and crustaceans. Among the land animals, the most significant in religious terms are those who dwell in caves or dens. This includes the buffalo, the canines, the bears, and the badgers. The other species that inhabit the earth's surface, elk, deer, pronghorn, rabbits, mice, turtles, and fish have important spiritual and symbolic associations, but none have the powers of the animals that dwell below the surface of the earth (Moore, J. 1974a:239-240). The *Maiyun* spirits, who guard and steward the animals, usually appear in the guise of animals associated with the subterranean world, especially wolves and bison (Schlesier 1987:8-9, 53-54, 76-80, 90-92, 98).

Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas divided animals in several ways according to their actions, habitats, and/or forms of locomotion. Several different systems of categorization are found in James Walker's interpretation of the Lakota genesis story (1983). One of these is revealed in the story about how *Gnaski* [Crazy Buffalo] attempts to foment hostility among the animals by getting each of the animal communities or nations to choose "chiefs." There are the "diggers," which include the wolf, prairie dog, badger, and gopher; the "builders," which consist of the raccoon, beaver, squirrel, and mouse; the "hoofs," made up of elk, deer, antelope, and bighorn; and finally the "claws," which contain the cats (Walker 1983:269-271). In another story *Gnaski* and *Inktomi* (Spider) trick the animals into gathering for a feast (Walker 1983:358-362). Here the animals are grouped into birds, reptiles/amphibians (turtles, frogs, lizards, snakes), small fur-bearing mammals (otters, beavers, muskrats, weasels), small mammals who burrow in the ground (badgers, gophers, prairie dogs, rabbits), predators (wolf, coyote, fox, cats, skunks, raccoons), and big game (antelopes, deer, elk, bighorns). Significantly, two mammals, bison and bear, are not included in their expected categories. This is due no doubt to their status as members of the *Tobtob,* the Lakota pantheon of sacred beings (see Chapter Nine). There are other and more conventional classificatory systems. William Powers (1986:162) describes one of these, which includes four classes: (1) *wakinyan*, 'things that fly', (2) *washloan*, "things that crawl", (3) *wahutopa*, "things that walk on four legs", and (4) *wahununpa*, "things that walk on two legs". Father Eugene Buechel (1970:663, 699, 701, 718) orders living creatures into a different set of classes, which include: (1) *wakinyanpi* "winged creatures", (2) *hogan* "marine life," which includes fish, frogs, and turtles, (3) *wabluska* denotes "bugs," most probably land-based insects; and (4) *wamakaskan* applies to mammals in general and also reptiles.

The Lakotas did not see animals, in either their spiritual or materialized form, as under the stewardship of master animals or guardians in the same way the Cheyennes did. There were particular animals, however, that were considered "chiefs" or leaders of other species because they had significant spiritual and symbolic powers, and these were usually white or albino in their coloration (Howard, J. 1979:3; Flying By in Parlow 1983a: 37-38). *Tatanka* [Bison bull] and *Hununp* [Grizzly], members of the *Tobtob,* were the leaders of animals associated respectively

with provisioning and healing. Another animal, *Wanbli* [Eagle], also occupied a chiefly position in relation to war and the creatures that fly, but it was not considered a member of the *Tobtob*. It often stood in an interchangeable relationship with bison, however, as in the symbolic equation of an eagle feather with the bison and the breath of life (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:240-241; Brown 1992:43). Finally, *Inktomi* [Spider] did not hold a chiefly position in relation to other animals and stood outside all systems of classification -- not only because he embodied features that linked him to all classes of animals but because he transversed different tiers of the Lakota cosmos (Brown 1992:47; Powers, W. 1986:155-156).

More significant in Lakota schemes for organizing animals, especially those used in religious contexts, was the figure *Tate*, the Wind, and his five sons, four of whom represent each of the four cardinal directions, and the fifth, *Yamni*, who signifies the Whirlwind. In the Lakota language, the name *Tate* is closely related, if not synonymous etymologically, to the verb *tate*, meaning "to hunt" or "to chase." The word "*ta*", according to Father Eugene Buechel (1970:472), is a generic reference to ruminating animals since it is prefixed to the word for fresh meat, *talo*, and three game species of special importance to the Lakotas, *tatanka*, the buffalo, *tatoka*, the pronghorn, and *tahca*, the deer.[6] Two of *Tate's* sons, the North Wind and the West Wind, are linked to *Taku Skanskan*, the spirit that presides over movement, hunts, and war (Walker 1917:84, 1980:272).

In Lakota cosmology, the Four Winds and their youngest brother, the Whirlwind, were begotten through the union of *Tate* and *Ite*, a member of the *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation], who resided in the subterranean world. As such, the Four Winds play an important mediating role in Lakota cosmology, connecting the celestial and subterranean spaces of the universe. Most of the major species of animals in the Lakota universe are ordered according to their partnership with one of the Four Winds and are variously described as their *akicita*, soldiers, helpers, or servants. In contrast to the Cheyennes, the Lakotas' cosmological ordering stresses the directionality of the cosmos over its stratified layers. Animals are linked with the underworld, the earth's surface, and the sky too. And even though they are identified with different stratified levels of the cosmos, they are united because of their specific ties to the Four Winds. Several different families and species of birds and insects are linked together, for example, in one taxonomic class associated with the West Wind and the Thunders. Thus, blacktail deer, horses, lizards, dragonflies, and swallows, which represent sky and earth spaces, share an essential affinity to each other as the assistants of the West Wind. Speaking of this, Black Elk told John Neihardt (1961:133-134) about the species linked to the West Wind and how these were different from those connected to the North Wind:

> The eagle, hawk, swallow, dragon-fly, all possess great speed in flight and ability to strike swiftly and surely; and they seem to bear a sort of charmed life before bullets, arrows, hail and lightning, for one does not find them killed or injured by these forces, while buffalo, wolves, and magpies are united through their allegiance to the North Wind.

Besides the animals Black Elk spoke about, coyotes, juncos, and geese are also tied to the North Wind. Whitetail deer and owls are generally identified with the East Wind, while cranes and meadowlarks are the common associates of the South Wind (Powers, W. 1977:75-77, 191-193, 198-199, 1982:54, 1986:81-82, 138-140; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163). The association of major species of birds and land animals with the Four Winds appears repeatedly in Lakota

[6] This is an old connection in the Siouan language family. The Omahas and Poncas also prefix "*ta*" to major ungulate species as in *tachu'ge* [antelope] or *ta'xti* [deer], and they call dried meat "ta" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972:1:279); in Lakota it's *talo*. The Omaha/Ponca name for the wind is *tadé* (Ibid:110).

sacred stories and liturgical texts. Some animals, however, like the elk,[7] are multidirectional and identified with several different Winds. Although the Lakotas have other taxonomic schemes for ordering animals, the one with the greatest metaphysical importance appears to be the one connected with *Tate* and his sons.

Earlier in cosmological time, when the animals were actually created, they were made to serve as associates of other and greater spiritual presences in the universe. The fish, reptiles, and amphibians become part of *Unk*'s domain, the flying birds with "claws" were the subjects of *Wakinyan*, and the water birds and land birds belonged to *Wohpe*. The land animals who became part of *Maka*'s domain including the ones with horns and hoofs made by *Wi* and his associate, *Hanwi*; those with claws and pointed teeth were created by *Inyan* and *Wakinyan;* and finally, the mammals with claws and blunt teeth were shaped by *Maka* and *Wohpe* (Walker 1983:235-241).

B. Animal Partnerships

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes believe that humans and animals can communicate with each other, entering into mutually beneficial partnerships. Among the Cheyennes, the *hematasooma* [soul] of an animal and a human may form a relationship with each other. In dreams and visions, animal *hematasooma* reveal themselves to humans and give them knowledge of healing, protection for warfare, or talents in hunting. People who are spiritually partnered with specific animals are able to draw on their relationships to further various human needs and desires. People with spiritual antelope partners, for example, are able "to call" the animals of this species when hunting them. These special talents or abilities, however, entail obligations to propitiate their spiritual animal partners in reverent ways (Schlesier 1987:10-11). According to Schlesier (1987:12),

> Animals were celebrated as beautiful, mysterious, powerful, dangerous, and benevolent. In Cheyenne memories, animals talked with humans, took pity on them, protected and taught them, gave to them special power and knowledge, healed them from wounds and sicknesses, kept them alive with self-sacrifice, and finally, became human themselves to help them in great need.

In this kind of perspective, humans do not live simply by their own ingenuity, but by the grace of the animals that lend their spiritual assistance and their own materialized lives for the benefit of humankind.

Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas believed that the well-being of humans is dependent on their knowledge of and spiritual partnerships with the animals. As Royal B. Hassrick (1964:170) put it:

> Skill, knowledge, and diligence were not regarded as sufficient attributes in themselves to guarantee success in hunting. There must be an understanding of the animals, and a recognition of their spiritual qualities as well. The nations of animals, in permitting their members to be taken by the Sioux, demanded respect and specific propitiation in return...

[7] As mentioned in Chapter Nine, there is considerable variation among Lakota religionists in how they match particular animals with each of the Winds. Some animals, however, are consistently tied to a specific wind, for example, bison are invariably linked to the North Wind and swallows with the West Wind. Elk, by contrast, have more flexible assignments. This species is sometimes linked to the East Wind (Densmore 1918:178; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163), but in other cases, it appears as an associate of the North Wind (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:114-115).

> To a degree, all animals were sacred because of their *wakan* character, and as a result, religious rites to propitiate them were an accepted prelude to hunting. The Sioux philosophy that conceived humans as an integral part of nature, yet dependent upon animals for spiritual power, made propitiation all important. As such, there was no joy in killing; instead, a sense of gravity prevailed. Hunting was a serious and mystical business--a combination of skill, organization, and power obtained from the supernaturals.

More than a century earlier, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:287) wrote something very similar about the Lakotas:

> To him all nature is instinct with mystic influence. Among those mountains not a wild beast was prowling, a bird singing, or a leaf fluttering that might not tend to direct his destiny, or give warning of what was in store for him; and he watches the world of nature around him as the astrologer watches the stars. So closely is he linked with it that his guardian spirit, no insubstantial creation of the fancy, is usually embodied in the form of some living thing, --a bear, a wolf, an eagle, or a serpent...
>
> The Lakotas believe that all living forms hold a spiritual or immaterial essence or *sicun* that can be transferred from one species or *oyate* [nation] to another. In dreams or visions, animals appear to humans enabling them to partake of their spiritual essences for any of a variety of life goals and functions.

In the rest of the discussion, attention is given to the particular characteristics of animals important in Lakota and Cheyenne cosmologies, especially those with whom humans enter into spiritual partnerships. For purposes of presentation, they will be organized into four sections:1) animals linked to the sky, that fly, primarily birds, insects, and bats; 2) animals associated with the earth, largely mammals, 3) those connected to water, mostly reptiles, amphibians, and fish; and 4) spiders because they transverse all tiers of the universe. Except for the bison, which hold a very special relationship to the area of Wind Cave National Park, most of the details on spiritual partnerships between humans and various species of animals are found in Appendix A.

1. The Creatures of the Sky

Birds and certain insects that fly occupy a pivotal place in the cosmologies of the Cheyennes and Lakotas, and conceptually, they are linked together by both tribes. As *Siya'ka*, a Lakota, told Francis Densmore (1918:188):

> All the birds and insects which I have seen in my dream were things on which I know I should keep my mind and learn their ways. When the season returns, the birds and insects return with the same colorings as the previous year. They are not all on the earth, but are above it. My mind must be the same.

The Lakotas and Cheyennes consider birds the messengers of the spirits and often rank them among the animals with the greatest spiritual potentialities (Walker 1983:321, 327; Moore, J. 1984, 1986). Speaking for the Lakotas, Black Elk (in Brown 1992:199-200) said:

> The most important of all creatures are the wingeds, for they are nearest to the heavens, and are not bound to the earth as are the four-legged, or little crawling people. Their religion is the same as ours. They see everything that happens on the earth, and they never miss their prey.

For both tribes, the highest-ranking birds are raptors. John Moore (1984, 1986) described in great detail how and why raptors are classified by the Cheyennes as "holy" and "great" birds. Vultures are considered holy birds, along with eagles, dragonflies, and nighthawks, because they move in the fashion of a whirlwind, as evidenced by the funnel-shaped configurations they make when seeking thermals or when circling carrion (Moore, J. 1986:189). Hawks and falcons are generally identified among the great birds and strongly associated with predatory behavior and protective powers relating to warfare (Grinnell 1972:2:105, 107-108; Moore, J. 1984:298, 1986: 184-186).

Among the Lakotas, raptors are highly revered as well. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:41) writes: "For Lakota raptors seemed to lead a charmed life not only because they possessed great speed and agility but also because they appeared to be immune to bullets, arrows, and lightening strikes." While vultures are relatively unimportant to the Lakotas, golden eagles are very significant, highly sacred, and ranked as the "chief of the wingeds" (Black Elk quoted in Brown 1992:42). According to Luther Standing Bear (1988:78), eagles symbolized "the greatest power." They are among the most sacred birds, commonly linked to the West Wind, healing, war parties and battles (Sword in Walker 1980:103; Tyon in Walker 1980:122), but in some contexts to the North Wind or the East Wind (Curtis 1905-1930:3:77).[8] They are also identified as messengers of the sun, and the sun's *tonwan* is believed is to be carried in their tail quills (Walker 1980:230-231, 232). Hawks, associates of the West Wind, are linked to war and healing as well, and they are believed to be highly sacred, able to bring luck and to rule over endurance and swiftness (Dorsey, J. 1889:500; Densmore 1918:139; Bordeaux 1929:109; Black Elk in Neihardt 1959:133-134; Sword in Walker 1980:103; Tyon in Walker 1980:122; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125).

There are many visionary narratives of Lakota encounters with eagles and hawks, and several of these are associated with the Black Hills (Hassrick 1964:232-233, 234; Bordeaux in Kadlececk and Kadlececk 1981:90-91; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:115, 117-118, 121, 136, 140-142, 216, 218, 228-229, 261, 263, 265; Lewis, T. 1990:93-94; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30-31, 142-143, 147). Peter Bordeaux (in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:90-91), for instance, told the following story in 1969:

> There were some white eagles, twice as large as the ordinary eagles,that increased and existed in the air and space above the vast country and nestled on the land of the Black Hills all the time prior to the year 1875. A warrior observed the ceremony of the fast on the top of one of the Black Hills; on his third day, one of the said white eagles flew down and landed on the altar hill by the fasting warrior and talked to him in plain Sioux language. He said that the white men will invade your Black Hills in the very near future and will take over the resources under their possession and give you a bad time. Then the white eagles relinquished their roaming from the vast country of the Black Hills.

Eagles figured prominently in many of Black Elk's visions (in DeMallie 1984). When he saw an eagle and heard it piping while hunting with his father at the Buffalo Gap, he was reminded of the spirit eagle that once came to him in a dream (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156). Among the Lakotas, eagle dreamers often became healers, practicing in a manner not dissimilar to *Yuwipi* doctors (Bordeaux 1929:109; Lewis, T. 1990:93-104).

Nighthawks are also considered sacred by both tribes. The Cheyennes place the bird in their highest and most sacred class and associate it with the West Wind, death, and twilight (Moore, J. 1986:182-184). The Lakotas link this bird to the West Wind too, the *Wakinyan* or Thunders, and

[8] Bald eagles are also identified with the East Wind.

the *Heyoka* [Contraries] (Hassrick 1964:214). The Lakotas consider all species of swallows sacred, and like nighthawks, they are messengers of the Thunders and the West Wind and associates of the *Heyoka.* They are commonly appealed to in visions and healing (Sword in Walker 1980:102; Bordeaux 1929:109 Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:84). Although much has been written about swallows among the Lakotas, little appears in the literature on the Cheyennes, except that they are considered ordinary birds with connections to war and thunders (Moore, J. 1986:184; Grinnell 1972:1:201).

Owls are highly respected by the Lakotas for their wisdom, courage, and gentleness, and as a result, they are linked to healing and the visions of healers (Densmore 1918:181; Fire and Erdoes 1972:136; Standing Bear 1988:72; Brown 1992:44, 61; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30, 31, 109, 111, 134-135, 139, 142, 143, 187). They are commonly associated with the East Wind and believed to bear messages of death (Walker 1980:118; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125; Brown 1992:44). In Cheyenne culture, owls are not considered a natural bird, but a *mista* or night spook (Moore, J. 1986:186). They are widely feared, but, as with the Lakotas, they are known to have healing powers (Grinnell 1972:1:125, 2:109, 156). In both tribes, owls were historically linked to warfare too (Wissler 1912:41-42; Grinnell 1972:2:105). There are a number of stories in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions that associate owl-like figures with locations in the high elevation interiors of the Black Hills (Marriott and Rachlin 1974:43-47; Deloria E. 1978:113-116; LaPointe 1976:89-91).

Other birds associated with healing and visions among the Lakotas are water birds and shorebirds, especially ducks, geese, and cranes (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:95, 98, 114; Standing Bear 1988:70-71). Ducks, along with cranes, also symbolize fertility and are frequently seen as associates of *Wohpe* and *Itokagata*, the South Wind (Densmore 1918:139; Standing Bear 1978:158; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1980:217-218, 252). These birds are similarly connected to reproduction and healing among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 110, 205), but some also have strong associations with war (Moore, J. 1986:178, 184, 186, 187). Many other water birds and shorebirds are named in Lakota and Cheyenne taxonomies, but seem to have had little symbolic value. Similarly, most game birds do not appear to have occupied any significant position in Cheyenne cosmology, perhaps because, as Moore (1986:184) argues, they are edible birds, existing in a stable state rather than full of energy and drive like the species that are important symbolically. Among the Lakotas, however, grouse are symbolically linked to war and the dances and songs associated with this endeavor (Wissler 1912:15; Standing Bear 1988:57, 60; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:31-33). One example of a visionary contact with this bird took place in central interiors of the Black Hills (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:31-32).

The closely related families of kingfishers and woodpeckers represent another group of birds highly respected and admired by both tribes. Kingfishers are associated with healing and protective medicine in war (Buechel 1970:186; Grinnell 1972:1:120; Moore, J. 1974a:244; Tyon in Walker 1980:161; Moore, J. 1986:178, 186). The Cheyennes associate the redheaded woodpecker with great power, male fertility, and 'blood paint' (Moore, J. 1986:182-184). The Lakotas link this bird to the East Wind and associate it with strong family ties (Densmore 1918:70-71; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:398). Yellow-shafted flickers are linked to war, thunders, and the West Wind in Lakota beliefs (Densmore 1918:111-112). Contrastingly, the Cheyennes see the flicker as a bird of peace, healing, and associate it with female symbolism (Grinnell 1972:2:232; Moore, J. 1986:182-184). These birds occupy an important position in the Sun Dance of both tribes (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 232-233, 265, 268; (Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). There is nothing in the published literature, however, that specifically associates these species of birds with any area in the Black Hills.

In contrast, the magpie, and in some stories, the crow are very important symbolically and spiritually because they are believed to have won the Great Race, which took place on lands at Wind Cave National Park (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:24; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404). Crows and magpies are believed to be able to communicate with humans and warn them of danger (Densmore 1918:186-188; Grinnell 1972:2:107; Walker 1982:43; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:385-386; Moore, J. 1986:3). The magpie is included in the Cheyenne's "Holy" class of birds: it is associated with war and viewed as the messenger of *Ma'heo*, the holiest of holies (Grinnell 1972:2:105, 124; Moore, J. 1986:182-183). It is also considered the "chief" of the birds that the Cheyennes designate as "blue," which includes jays, kingfishers, and the blue-winged teals (Moore, J. 1974a:238). Lakotas associate this bird with the North Wind, and their attitudes towards it appear highly ambivalent (Beckwith, M. 1930:388, 434; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404; Powers, W. 1977:191; Walker 1983:335-336). By contrast, the crow, which is associated in Lakota beliefs with either the North or East Wind, is generally admired and believed to be of great assistance in matters of war (Densmore 1918:181; Walker 1980:260, 1982:32, 37; Powers, W. 1986:139-140; Brown 1992:43). One of the Lakota *akicita* or soldier societies was known as the *Kangi yuha* (Crow Owners), and its defining symbol was the crow (Blish 1924:87). The Cheyennes associate the crow with war too, and in addition, they consider it helpful in locating bison (Grinnell 1972:2:105, 110; Moore, J. 1986:183).

Many other species of land birds found in the Black Hills are neither named nor symbolically marked in Lakota and Cheyenne ornithological nomenclatures. Among the Cheyennes, most land birds are "ordinary" and in the subclasses *vekseohes*, which includes small birds who build tree nests and inhabit riparian forests and *hoevekseo*, which refers largely to edible ground birds (Moore, J. 1986:184-186). Even when these birds are named, they are generally not associated with any complex symbolic meanings (see Appendix A). There are a few exceptions, however. One is the meadowlark. This is another bird the Lakotas believe can speak intelligible words in their language (Buechel 1970:267, Powers, W. 1986:28; Standing Bear 1988:60; Brown 1992:45). It is a symbol of fidelity, clarity, courage, and goodness, it is connected to the South Wind and the elk, and it is thought to have the gift of prophecy (Walker 1917:129, 249; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Powers, W. 1986:28, 139-140; Rice 1993:99, 154, 156-157). It is also associated with the Sun Dance because of the sunflower painted on its breasts (Dorsey, J. 1889a: 157). The snowbird or junco is also important to the Lakotas because it was the bird that led the first man, *Tokahe*, and his followers to meat and safety when they emerged out of a cave, which many Lakota identify today as Wind Cave (Hassrick 1964:214; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Walker 1983:371). This bird has a high degree of symbolic importance for the Lakotas. Historically, it was also a source of food. Among the Cheyennes, the scarlet tanager [*Piranga olivacea*] was associated with the thunders and played an important role in the symbolism of the Contraries (Powell 2002a, 2002b).

Both the Lakotas and Cheyennes classify bats with birds because of their ability to fly. The Lakotas viewed them as "helpers" of the West Wind and the Thunders (Walker 1980:125; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). Like other flying creatures that are linked to these two spiritual entities, bats are associated with war. Warriors commonly wore bats on their heads as a talisman, or *wotawe* as these are called in Lakota, when they entered battle (Buechel 1970, 196; Grinnell 1972:1:120).

Certain flying insects, notably butterflies, moths, and dragonflies, are highly sacred to both tribes. The Lakotas and the Cheyennes associate butterflies, dragonflies, and moths with whirlwinds because of their quick, erratic, and darting movements (Moore, J. 1986:178; Brown 1989:177-187; Powers, W. 1986:159). As William Powers (1986:160) writes:

> All three have capacity to avoid danger quickly through making abrupt motions and deceiving those who follow them. Therefore they served as appropriate protectors of warriors ...The Lakota link them on the basis of these most observable behavioral qualities, quickness of flight and erratic movement through space, all diagnostic of the devil duster, the dragon and butterfly.

In fact, the Cheyennes consider the butterfly and the dragonfly to be types of birds in the class of their most "holy" animals known as "messengers" (Moore, J. 1986:178, 182). Since butterflies are often observed by the Cheyennes to swarm around sites where animals are butchered and to drink their blood, they are strongly associated with killing and warfare (Moore, J. 1986:182). Not surprisingly, butterflies are also linked with the Thunders. According to George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:96), these insects are often seen in association with thunderstorms. The Cheyennes believe that when the thunders are angry, they shake themselves causing the butterflies, which are their parasites, to fall off of them. The Lakotas also link these flying insects with the thunders and war (Blish 1934:185; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Brown 1992:46; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas believe that butterflies and dragonflies are able to escape injury by humans, animals, and even the thunders because of their rapid, whirlwind-like movements (Wissler 1905:258-259). Dragonflies are also significant because of how they change color during their lifecycle, and their dual association with the thunders and the deep waters of the earth from which they hatch (Moore, J. 1974a:158).

Whether other flying insects have importance is difficult to determine because there is little direct evidence about them in the ethnographic and linguistic sources we reviewed. Grasshoppers, for example, must have had some significance because their images are painted on the bodies of Cheyenne Sun dancers and on the tipis that held the Sacred Arrows and the Sacred Hat (Powell 1969:2:833; Grinnell 1972:1:89), but exactly what they meant has not been reported in the literature. One unidentified species helped Cheyennes and Lakotas locate bison (Holy Elk 1937: 44; Grinnell 1972:2:264). Another cicada-like species was known to assist in the ripening of berries (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:21). Either of these roles may help explain why this class of insects is painted on Cheyenne Sun dancers and associated with a ceremony whose purpose is to increase the fertility of the earth and renew life (Powell 1969:795, 833, 843; Grinnell 1972:2:264). But there is also another possible reason. Some early naturalists reported that the Black Hills were the breeding grounds of local grasshopper species, which left the Hills in huge swarms every spring to cover the surrounding grasslands (Progulske 1974:123). If this is the case, it would certainly have reaffirmed tribal observations about animals originating in the Hills.

Most of the cultural associations of birds and other "wingeds" with the Black Hills center around the high elevation interiors at places like Harney Peak, Castle Rock, and the Cathedral Spires. Many of these flying creatures, including eagles, hawks, dragonflies, butterflies, swallows, and nighthawks, have very specific ties to the Thunders and the West Wind in Lakota traditions. Owls, also associated with locations in the interiors, are usually connected to the East Wind. In the area of Wind Cave National Park, there are only a few specific links to avian species. The snowbird (Junco) appears in the story of *Tokahe* and the emergence of the first humans from Wind Cave. However, to the extent that all birds participated in the Great Race and were the first to arrive in the Hills when the race was announced, all of them have a connection to the Race Track, a portion of which crosses park properties. Two birds, however, stand out in this story: the crow and the magpie, because they won the race for humans. Even though other birds are often named in different versions of the Great Race story, including the sparrow, blackbird, meadowlark, and swifthawk, the crow and magpie are clearly the most important (Marquis and

Limbaugh 1973:30-31; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:94-96; Ant in Lehman 1987:245-250). Curiously, the birds that have important connections to the area of Wind Cave, notably the snowbird, the magpie, and the crow, are generally associated with the North Wind, *Waziyata*, in Lakota stories and liturgical texts, confirming again the connection of this region with winter and breath.

2. The Creatures of the Land

The animals associated with the land, mostly mammals, are the most important class of animals in terms of their practical importance to the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, but many are also highly significant in symbolic and spiritual terms. In Lakota traditions, many mammals are associated with the earth's surface, but certain species, including badgers, bears, wolves, bison, badgers, prairie dogs, and gophers, are connected to the subterranean world because they sleep in burrows, dens, caves, or other depressions and come to the earth's surface to feed. The ability of certain animals to transverse more than one plane of the universe makes them highly significant to the Lakotas on spiritual grounds (Powers, W. 1986:113).

Among the Cheyennes, mammals are believed to originate from cavern homes in the deep recesses of the earth (Schlesier 1987:4-5; Moore, J. 1996a:211). In their subterranean sanctuaries, mammals exist in a spiritual form awaiting their materialized reappearance on the earth's surface (Schlesier 1987:4-5). As Karl Schlesier explains:

> Plant, animal, and human physical forms originate from reproduction processes as given in each species. The initiation of new life is not simply the result of biology but also the infusion of spiritual forms that remain with the organism until death. The spiritual forms of every living being under the laws of *venom* consist of the immortal gift of breath, *monotone*, which comes from *exhausted*, cosmic power and the immortal, *hematasooma*, the spiritual potential consisting of four separate forces (Schlesier 1987:9).

The Cheyennes also believe that the *hematasooma* of an animal, including the human species, is released at death to travel to the sky spaces of the universe, but the *monotone* remains in the bones, teeth, claws, and feathers until these parts have decayed, at which point it rejoins its respective *hematasooma* to await the process of rematerialization that begins in the underworld. It is from the subterranean depths of the earth that animals and humans receive "the immortal gift of breath" and are reborn (Schlesier 1984:9). The Lakotas similarly believe that animals and also humans are transmogrified from a spiritualized state to their material form through the acquisition of *ni* or breath, a process usually associated with the underworld and its vast cavernous spaces (Walker 1917:91).

a.Bison

Of all the mammals, the bison was clearly the most important historically to the Lakotas and Cheyennes, both as a provisioner of their life necessities and as an important spiritual presence. The Lakotas considered the bison the "chief" of all the animals, and a penultimate metaphor for the workings of the cosmos. As Nicolas Black Elk (in Brown 1992:13) said: "The buffalo is the chief of all animals and represents the earth, the totality of all that is. It is the feminine, creating earth principle which gives rise to all living forms." In a similar vein, Lame Deer (in Fire and Erdoes 1972:130) speaks about the close link between humans and bison:

> We Sioux have a close relationship with the buffalo. He is our brother... the buffalo is very sacred to us. You can't understand about nature, about the feeling we have toward it, unless

> you understand how close we are to the buffalo. That animal was almost like a part of ourselves, a part of our souls.

The near extinction of bison was experienced as a great loss to the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Expressing a sense of tragedy for his people, the famous Oglala leader Red Cloud (Walker in 1980:138-139) said in his abdication speech:

> We told them [the commissioners] that the supernatural powers, *Taku Wakan*, had given to the Lakotas the buffalo for food and clothing. We told them that where the buffalo ranged, that was our country. We told them that the country of the buffalo was the country of the Lakotas. We told them that the buffalo must have their country and the Lakotas must have the buffalo.
>
> Now where the buffalo ranged there are wires on posts that mark the land where the white man labors and sweats to get food from the earth; and in the place of the buffalo there are cattle that must be cared for to keep them alive; and where the Lakota could ride as he wished from the rising to the setting of the sun for days and days on his own lands, now he crosses the bounds the white man has set about us, the white man says to us Indians, 'You must not be on the lands that are not on the road.

Among the Cheyennes, where predatory mammals and birds occupied some of the highest spiritual positions in the cosmic order of things and stood in control over game animals (e.g., pronghorn), bison were an exception (Moore, J. 1974a:240). "The buffalo," according to Karl Schlesier (1987:8), "was regarded both as a game animal and a powerful spiritual being."

Although bison held a much-revered place in the cosmologies of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the spiritual figures representing bison were conceptualized and interpreted in different ways. In Lakota and Cheyenne cosmology, there were several masculine and feminine benevolent spirits who were represented in the image of bison. At least as reported in the ethnographic literature, the Cheyennes placed much greater emphasis on feminine bison representations and very little on masculine imagery. The Lakotas, by contrast, had prominent male and female bison figures. Both tribes had many lesser spiritual figures envisioned as bison too, and both knew of dangerous bison spirits who killed and consumed humans.

Among the Lakotas, *Tatanka* [Bison Bull] was a member of their *Tobtob*, the group of the highest ranking spiritual figures (Walker 1980:50-51, 94). He symbolizes the masculine spiritual presence most responsible for provisioning and prosperity and for insuring good health and harmony (Black Elk in Brown 1971:72; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Walker 1980:50, 225, 232). As Black Elk told Brown (1971:72):

> He represents the people and the universe and should always be treated with respect, for was he not here before the two-legged peoples, and is he not generous in that he gives us our homes and our food? The buffalo is wise in many things, and thus, we should learn from him and should always be as a relative with him.

Along with *Tate* and *Taku Skanskan*, two of the other *Tobtob*, *Tatanka* ruled over the hunt; he was addressed and propitiated in all rituals associated with hunting (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Walker 1982:75, 76, 91). He is a figure of industry and generosity (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Tyon in Walker 1980:121, Brown 1992:25). Historically, *Tatanka* was one of the major spiritual figures addressed during the Lakota *Hunka* ceremony, and it is his spirit that resided in the skull at this and indeed all other major Lakota ceremonies. He served as a model of parental duty and domestic harmony (Takes the Gun in Walker 1980:214; Walker

1982:75, 76, 91).[9] *Tatanka* is also linked to the fecundity of women and guards over their pregnancies and menstrual cycles (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124; Tyon in Walker 1980:121). Finally, *Tatanka*, who is often envisioned in the image of a white buffalo, stands for cosmic regeneration (Flying By in Parlow 1983a:37-39). Consequently, he is a major figure to whom appeals are made and offerings given during the Lakota Sun Dance and many other major ceremonies (Densmore 1918:98-125).

The feminine representation of the bison in Lakota thought is complex. On one and probably an older level, there is an elderly spiritual female figure whose home is under the earth; she sometimes appears in stories that unfold at springs or caves (Haflen and Haflen 1956:268-272). There are many stories in the oral and written traditions of the Lakotas of a benevolent old woman who assists people in need, and they bear a remarkable resemblance to a number of Cheyenne, Arikara, Pawnee, and Kiowa narratives. The Lakota tradition is not as well developed as it is among some of these other tribal nations, and when it appears, as discussed in greater detail in the next section, it is more often connected to a younger female figure who lives underneath the Black Hills and guards the animals. Some of the stories about her also take place at springs and openings to caves, including Wind Cave (Herman in One Feather 1972:149; Black Elk, H. in Theisz 1973:16-18; LaPointe 1979:79-80). In many respects, as among the Cheyennes, female bison figures are really manifestations in animal form of the highly revered earth, *Maka*, who ranks with the sky, stone, and the sun as one of highest spiritual presences in the Lakota's pantheon of spiritual beings.

In Lakota traditions, another prominent female spiritual figure, understood as an associate or companion to the earth, is *Wohpe* [Falling Star or Meteor]. In the Lakota creation story, as given to James Walker (1983:229-244) by George Sword, she is the daughter of *Skan*, the Sky, and comes to earth to live with *Tate*, the Wind and his sons. She is a mediator who is behind many creative actions, including the making of vegetation and other life forms (Walker 1983:229-244). Later in cosmological time, she is reincarnated as *Pte San Winyan*, the White Buffalo Calf Woman, who brings the sacred pipe to the Lakotas and advises them in the performance of their seven sacred rituals (Black Elk in Brown 1971:3-9). There are numerous stories about how she appeared to the Lakotas (Densmore 1918:63-66; Hassrick 1964:217-219; Finger in Walker 1980:109; Black Elk in Brown 1971:3-9; Powers, W. 1977:54; Powers, M. 1986:43-49; Looking Horse 1987:68-69; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:38-41), but today, as in the past, she remains a highly signficant figure, a model of female generosity, nurturance, and everything else that represents the highest virtues of womanhood (Powers, M. 1986:70-72; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:41-42). She is one of the primary protector figures in Lakota traditions, and many Lakotas believe that she appeared to them near Bear Lodge Butte a.k.a. Devil's Tower (Bird Horse in U. S. Senate 1986:168, 207; Looking Horse 1987:67-68; Goodman 1992:2, 12-13).

The Cheyennes represent the spiritual essence of bison in a predominately feminine form (for example, the lead bison in the story of the Great Race was a cow, Slim Walking Woman), but it is the bison bull that "talked to them" (Grinnell 1972:2:104). Whatever this means, and Grinnell does not elaborate upon on it, bison are the supreme symbols of the family, fecundity, and regeneration for the Cheyennes as they are for the Lakotas. In comparison to female bison figures, very little has been written about the Cheyennes' spiritual understandings of the bull. As noted in the last chapter, *Esceheman* [Our Grandmother], the deep spirit of the earth, is identified with game animals and is their protector (Powell 1969:2:437; Schlesier 1987:5, 8, 82). Her helpers, and the ones through which she usually reveals herself, are the badger, buffalo, bear, and

[9] The protective behavior of bison bulls when predators threaten calves and cows, as reported in ethological studies of bison, conforms to some of the paternalistic images that the Lakotas have of them (Geist 1996:54-58).

wolf (Schlesier 1987:8). She is present in the sacred buffalo skull at the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Powell 1969:2:335-336, 422, 425, 597). The "Sacred Woman" of the Sun Dance may also represent an impersonation of *Esceheman* (Ibid:448). In this ceremony, she is ceremonially impregnated by the 'man power,' represented in the image of the Thunder (Ibid:449-459).

The *Is'siwun* or *Esevone*, the Sacred Hat, one of the two most important sacred symbols of the Cheyennes (the other being the Sacred Arrows), is an embodiment of the female spiritual presence of *Esceheman* and the buffalo (Ibid:443), or as Father Peter Powell (1969:2:443) puts it, "the living symbol and source of female power." He further describes her power as follows:

> The Sacred Hat emanates power for renewing and attracting the buffalo – the great sources of food and life. The Buffalo continues to symbolize the 'good life for the Cheyennes.' Is'siwun's power continues to assure food for the people, even though the great herds are gone. The Sacred Cap was given to Standing on the Ground or Erect Horns, the Suhtaio culture hero, at Bear Butte, but it is also closely associated with the origin of the Sun Dance, which is traced in some Cheyenne stories to the Race Track and the Buffalo Gap, the place where the Buffalo People promised to turn their dance over to the people (Powell 1969: 2:444).

The interpretation of its origins and its relation to the Great Race vary among the Cheyennes with significant differences between the northern and southern branches of the tribe. Most of the connections made to the Buffalo Gap come from Northern Cheyennes, who were settled on the Tongue Reservation in Montana and who are descended from the Suhtaio division of the Cheyennes, whose people lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills until the U. S. government seized them in 1877.[10] It is probably not surprising that this story and the Sun Dance are associated with the Buffalo Gap area because this is the location where bison emerged onto the grasslands every spring with their newborn calves. The yellow coloration of a bison calf's coat at birth is strongly associated in Cheyenne beliefs with sun symbolism (Moore, J. 1974a:163).

Esceheman's daughter, *Ehyophstah* (Yellow Hair on Top Woman), comes from a union with the Thunder, *Nonoma* (appearing in the *Maussam* as a coyote or wolf) (Schlesier 1987:78). She is represented as the figure in the story of Sweet Medicine and his friend's journey to Bear Butte. She is the one who marries the friend and brings the buffalo to his people (Grinnell 1907, 1926: 244-251; Schlesier 1987:76-79). She also manifests herself in the form of a bison. *Ehyophstah* is viewed as the patroness of one of the Cheyenne's most important sweatlodges (Anderson, R. 1956; Schlesier 1987:62), and she is an important figure in the *Massaum* where she plays a role similar to her mother as a "guardian of the animals." In this ceremony, she impersonates a kit-fox, who symbolizes Rigel, known in Cheyenne as the *Voh'kis* [Blue Star] (Schlesier 1987:12, 84, 104-109), and thus, she has a dual positioning in Cheyenne cosmology and may exist simultaneously as an earth and celestial or star figure.[11]

Besides the beneficent bison in Cheyenne and Lakota cosmology, there is a group of hostile figures, male as well as female, who prey on humans. In Lakota traditions, *Gnaskiyan* (Crazy Buffalo), in his various manifestations, represents the spiritual antithesis to the giving and

[10] Although the instructions for the Sun Dance were learned by the Cheyennes at Bear Butte (Powell 1969:2:467-471) and the first dance held by the people took place near Sundance, Wyoming (Ibid:477), the place where the buffalo first performed this ceremony and made a compact to turn it over to humans was located at the Buffalo Gap, the site where the Great Race begins and ends (Powell 1969:2:477; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:72) (see more detailed discussion of this subject in Chapters Twelve and Fourteen).

[11] The same is true of Esceheman who is linked to the star Sirius and is represented by *Evevsev Honche* or the Horned Wolf in this ceremony (Schlesier 1987:82-83). In some respects, *Ehyophstah* is also the cosmic equivalent of the Lakotas' figure, *Wophe* a.k.a. *Pte San Winyan*.

protective qualities of *Tatanka* (Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124). From the conversation of George Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:94), *Gnaskinyan* is the most feared of the "evil" spiritual beings. He is the grand artist of deception, appearing in a benevolent guise but persuading the people to do terrible things (see also, Little Wound in Walker 1980:67). In many ways, he symbolizes the life-taking side of the bison and is the alter ego of *Tatanka*, who stands for the bison in their life life-giving aspects.[12] Crazy bison figures appear in at least one story linked to Wind Cave (Swift Bird in Kadlececk and Kadlecek 1981:147-148).

The Cheyenne have a figure remarkably similar to the Lakotas' Crazy Bull, called *Histo-wunini' hotu'a* [The Double-toothed bull] or *Hestovonenehota*, who is male and known to eat people (Petter 1913-15:193; Grinnell 1972:2:99). Grinnell (1972:1:269) suggests that he was modeled after the actual behavior and pugnacity of bulls, which are known to suddenly charge humans during their rutting season in June and July. There were female bison figures who attacked and ate humans too. Although they are not as well defined as the males, they appear in many Cheyenne and Lakota stories, the most famous of which is in the role of the mother-in-law of the human man who marries a buffalo woman (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24).[13]

In addition to these more personified spiritual figures, there are many generalized ideas about the nature of the bison's spiritualized essence. Notwithstanding variations of interpretation in Lakota traditions, bison are typically linked to the wind and cardinal direction of the north, *Wazi-yata*, in a multitude of different oral traditions and sacred liturgical texts (Curtis 1907-1930:3: 68:11-118, 159; Wissler 1912:19-20; Black Elk in Brown 1971:133; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1980:232; Powers 1986:139; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163). If not identified with *Waziyata* directly, bison are certainly linked to his season, winter, as recounted in some Lakota visionary accounts (Vestal 1934:109-110), and they are also linked to his grand-father, the old man *Waziya*, who symbolizes frost and snow. The association of bison with the North Wind and winter also holds true for the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1910:567).

In Lakota traditions, bison are not only associated with the procreative powers of the earth, *Maka*, but also the formative powers of stone, *Inyan* (Short Bull in Walker 1980:144, 229; Little Wound in Walker 1980:124; Brown 1992:25; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110). Bison come from the subterranean world; their tipi, or home, is made of stone, located inside the earth, and frequently identified with caves (Bushotter in Dorsey 1894:476-477; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124). The Lakotas also associate bison with the Sun, who stays in the underworld at night with his close bison companions (Little Wound in Walker 1980:67). Stone, earth, and fire are fundamentally connected to the creation of *ni* [breath] (Curtis 1907-30:3:159; Brown 1992:111-115). The breath of life, as revealed in the last chapter, is strongly associated in Lakota traditions with winter, the season of *Waziya* and *Waziyata*. Bison symbolize the breath of life, and it is the major game animal that stands metaphorically for the entire cosmos (Black Elk in Brown 1971:72). Bison, like golden eagles, also symbolize the sun and its generative power (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:42).

[12] Some of the Dakota divisions, including the Yanktannai, Sisseton, and Wahpeton, considered the appearance of a Crazy Bull near camp a sign of good fortune and successful bison hunting (Howard 1976:31).

[13] Valerius Geist (1996:30-31, 34-35) even suggests that stories of killer bison may represent ancient cultural memories of a time when larger and more aggressive bison, *Bison antiquus* and *Bison occidentalis*, roamed the American Plains. If this is so, then the Race Track story, described in Chapter Fourteen, marks the transition of bison to their modern form as *Bison bison.*

The *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation] represent the spirits of the bison who dwell underground and who materialize when they reach the surface of the earth. These spirits may also take on human forms. It is worth quoting James Walker's interpretation (1917:91) of them:

> The Buffalo People...have the power to transmogrify and may appear on the world as animals or as mankind, and may mingle with the Lakota and become their spouses. They can transmogrify their spouses and take them to the regions under the world.
>
> The offspring of a buffalo person and a Lakota has the powers of its buffalo parent and controls its other parent. A Lakota espoused to a buffalo person, or having buffalo children, can be freed from their control only by a Shaman whose fetish has the potency of the Buffalo God.

Some Lakota believe that the original transformation of the buffalo people into humans took place at Wind Cave. Originally, the *Pte Oyate* were created to act as the messengers of the Lakotas' highest sacred beings, the Earth, *Maka*, the Sky, *Skan*, the Stone, *Inyan*, and the Sun, *Wi*. They were molded out of crystalline structures under the earth. The first *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation or People], *Waziya* [Old Man] and *Wakanka* [Old Woman], have a daughter *Ite* [Face], who marries *Tate* [Wind] and mothers the Four Winds and the Whirlwind. The *Pte Oyate* appear throughout the Lakota origin cycle after their creation (Walker 1983), and they are specifically referenced in the sacred liturgy of the *Hunka* as kinspeople who come from the underworld where they live in the midst of the Sun during the night (Walker 1980:229). The buffalo are believed to be the closest spiritual relatives of humans (Black Elk in Brown 1971:117; Flying By in Parlow 1983a:38-39).

In Cheyenne cosmology, the animals that come from zones beneath the earth typically occupy a lower spiritual status than the animals associated with the blue sky, notably golden eagles, magpies, and vultures. These and other birds are associated with the supreme *Maiyun* (Moore, J. 1984). Although many animals of the earth are considered sacred and sources of beneficial spiritual power, only bison and wolves are appealed to and propitiated in the context of major Cheyenne ceremonies such as the *Massaum* or Sun Dance as representatives of the *Maiyun* (thunder, sun, rain, and earth), the superior sacred potentialities of the universe. Indeed, the *Maiyun*, representing the earth and the thunder, generally reveal themselves either through bison or wolf impersonations (Dorsey, G. 1905; Grinnell 1972:2:211-336; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967, 91-114; Powell 1969:2:481-858; Schlesier 1987:43-109).

The Buffalo People, who represent the spirits of the materialized bison, were the ones against whom humans raced in the Black Hills, forming the circular depression known as the Race Track. These people are sometimes identified interchangeably with the Suhtaio division of the Cheyenne nation and their culture hero, *Tomsi'vsi* [Stands on the Ground or Erect Horns], who is most closely associated with the origin of the Sun Dance. The Suhtaios are also associated with the *Vonhaom*, an older healing lodge whose origin is tied to bison and was run largely by buffalo dreamers (Grinnell 1919; Anderson, R. 1956; Powell 1969:2:324-327, 341, 343, 344, 388, 408).

Historically, among the Cheyennes, dreams of bison gave people protection in war, assistance in hunting, and/or the gift of healing (Grinnell 1919; Anderson, R. 1956; Powell 1969:324-327, 341, 343, 344, 388, 408; Grinnell 1972:1:196, 151; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:34). Some of the shamans who were able to call "game" and properly propitiate them had partnerships with bison spirits associated with *Escheman*. Also, many of the people who had spiritual partnerships with bison served as leaders for major religious observances, including the Animal Dance and the

Sun Dance (Grinnell 1919; Anderson, R. 1956; Powell 1969:1:341-344; Grinnell 1972:2:104; Schlesier 1987:15-16, 52-58).

This was also true for the Lakotas, who strongly associated bison with herbal medicine and healing (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:128-129; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:134-135). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:153) that men who dreamed of buffalo "knew about the medicines and all other things for doctoring." Indeed, Walker (1980:62) claimed that these dreamers were considered to be the "most reputable" healers. The *tatanka kagapi* [bison makers or imitators] and *tatanka inhanblayaci* [bison dreamers] also played very important roles in "calling" the bison, and they acted as the chief intercessors over many major ceremonies (Hassrick 1964:253; Tyon in Walker 1980:153; Walker 1980:249; Powers, W. 1986:185). One important Lakota story about the life-giving and healing powers of the bison took place at the Buffalo Gap (Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:94-96). The *Hunka Lowanpi*, the *Pte San Lowanpi*, and the *Tapawanka Yeyapi* are three of the ceremonies where the bison figure *Tatanka* is the most important spiritual benefactor, and all of these are described in great length in a number of different sources (Brown 1971:116-126, 133-136; Hassrick 1964:113, 257, 260-264; Walker 1980:249). These men also presided over Spirit Keeping rites, *Wanagi cagapi*, which are also detailed elsewhere (Densmore 1918:77-83), and they generally led the *Wiwanyan Wacipi* [Sun Dance], the most significant Lakota ceremony with spiritual connections to bison. Men with bison power were the ones who led the Buffalo dance at the Sun Dance and who blessed the feast on the day the center tree was felled (Hassrick 1964:242). Indeed, a major focus of this ritual involves the propitiation of the bison, the central figure in Lakota cosmology that brings prosperity, harmony, and life to the people.

Bison are also revered in the Cheyenne's Sun Dance, the *Oxheheom* [The New Life Lodge] (Schlesier 1987:3). Offerings and propitiations are made to them and their guardian, *Esceheman*, in the renewal ceremonies that take place in the Lone Tipi, a symbolic representation of Bear Butte (Dorsey, G. 1905:91, 97; Hoebel 1960:13). At these ceremonies, the assistant Chief Priest and the Lodge Maker smoke a sacred pipe to bring the buffalo (Dorsey, G. 1905:100), and other rituals are performed in this dance to symbolize their regeneration (Hoebel 1960:15; Powell 1969: 2:614-645). A second major ceremony where bison symbolism played a prominent role was the *Massaum* or Animal Dance, which Grinnell (1972:2:287) asserts is associated with the Cheyenne's arrival on the plains in the country of the buffalo. This ceremony, which is no longer practiced, reveals the dual positioning of bison as game animals and spiritual beings in Cheyenne cosmology. In the ceremony, which is described in greater detail in the discussion of wolves, a buffalo skull was placed in a bed dug in the ground because originally the bison came out of the earth (Grinnell 1972:2:330-334). Grinnell (1972:2:296) states that this is a reference to the buffalo's emergence from the underworld after the visit of their two culture heroes to the old woman in the hill, *Esceheman.*[14] More than that, according to Karl Schlesier (1987:7), the ceremony reenacts the creation of the world and all of its life forms that lead up to the ritual hunt where humans slay the game on whose lives they depend.

In concluding, it cannot be emphasized enough how much bison were, and still are, revered by the Cheyennes and Lakotas, not only in a practical way as source of food, shelter, and medicine, but spiritually as a presence embodied in the very essence and workings of the cosmos. In the traditions of both tribes, bison are especially associated with the breath of life, winter, and the North Wind, but they are also associated with the sun, spring, and the East or South Wind. Many of the most sacred stories about them are located at sites in and around the Black Hills,

[14] Among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, Grandmother Earth is frequently represented in the guise of an old women who inhabits springs and caves. Indeed, this is a common theme in many of their sacred stories.

including the Race Track and Wind Cave. In its various Cheyenne and Lakota renditions, the story of the Great Race, which started at the Buffalo Gap, determined the nature of relationships between humans and animals, especially bison (Kroeber 1900:161-162; Grinnell 1926:252-254; Randolph 1937: 189-192; Odell 1942:168; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:2:472-477; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:30; LaPointe 1976:18-19; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:94-96; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:309-310; Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:390-392; Black Elk, C. 1986d:200; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:72; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:29; Moore, J. 1996:29). Just above the course where this race took place is Wind Cave, another sacred site related to bison in Lakota traditions (Walker 1917:181-182; Koeller 1970; Herman in One Feather 1972:149; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Black Elk in Theisz 1975:16-18; LaPointe 1976:79-80; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148). Although bison largely disappeared from the Hills by the 1860s, Cheyennes and Lakotas continued to associate them with this region. And even though bison are no longer a principal source of food for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, they remain a central part of their cultural traditions and identities and pivotal to their religious life as well.

b. Other Ungulates

The Cheyennes and Lakotas held other large ruminant species in high regard for food, the materials of life, healing, and spiritual protection. However, unlike the bison, none of them rank among their most influential spiritual figures, the *Tobtob* of the Lakotas or the *Maiyan* of the Cheyennes.

For both tribes, the elk is the cervid species held in highest regard. The Lakotas consider it among the most *wakan* of the animals (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). The male of the species is admired for its strength, endurance, and courage, but particularly for its ability to attract and protect members of the opposite sex (Wissler 1905: 261-266; Fire and Erdoes 1972:165; Walking Bull 1980: 18-20; Standing Bear 1988:58; Brown 1992:16; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110; Walking Bull 1980:18-21). Indeed, the *ton* of the elk is believed to preside over sexual relationships, passion, and desire (Wissler 1905:261; Blish 1934: 199; Standing Bear 1978:216; Walker 1980:121). Historically, much of the symbolism associated with the elk represented the epitome of Lakota ideas of maleness and manhood, and as a result, the elk was a favorite animal for young men to emulate (Densmore 1918:176). In many ways, the elk stood metaphorically as an embodiment of *Itokagata*, the South Wind, also connected with love and romance. Like *Itokagata*, the elk is associated with the flute, with the crane, and with the south cardinal direction, although in many visionary contexts the elk is linked to other directions (Wissler 1905; Brave Buffalo in Densmore 1918:176-178; Hassrick 1964:116, 146; Black Elk in DeMallie 1983:119, 126, 218; Powers 1986:139; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:25-27). The multidirectionality of the elk is probably tied to *Yamni*, the Whirlwind, an associate of the South Wind, and it may be related to what early naturalists called the elk's "circle dance," where elk are reported to rapidly trot behind each other in a circular formation, kicking up dust like a "whirlwind" (Seton 1929:2:42). Lakota elk dreamers, *Hehaka inhanblapi*, were obligated to impersonate their spiritual benefactors in public performances, *Hehaka kaga*, which reminded people of life's origins (Wissler 1912:85).

The Cheyennes viewed the elk with considerable reverence as well, although the symbolic meanings they attached to this animal are not as fully detailed in the ethnographic literature. Elk were seen to have a strong power, which like deer, had good as well as evil ends. They were admired for their ability to endure and escape capture (Grinnell 1972:2:104; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Men who dreamed of elk found their spiritual gifts to be of great assistance (Grinnell

1972:2:104), and in earlier times, they appear to have given special dance performances, *Mo'he-tanio*, imitating the powers of elk (Hayden 1982b:281). In later years, these impersonations were performed on the fifth day of the Cheyennes' *Massaum* ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:335-336). In the dance, the "animal" men representing all of the important species in the Cheyenne universe danced and entered an enclosure where they were ritually "hunted" by members of the Bowstring Society or Contrary Warriors (Hoebel 1960:17). The Cheyennes also had a military organization called the *Himoweyuhkis*, Elk-Scrapers, which, according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:56), ranked among their three most important soldier societies. The Cheyennes appear to have associated elk mostly with warfare; they do not appear to have linked this animal to romantic attraction in the same way the Lakotas did. Some of the sexual attributes the Lakotas associate with the elk, the Cheyennes identify with deer.

As is the case with bison, there are no stories, at least in the published literature, that connect elk to any specific areas in the Black Hills. It is likely, however, that elk are strongly associated with Reynold's Prairie in the central hills, not only because a ritually arranged stack of elkhorns was noted there in the 1870s by members of the Black Hills Expedition (Grinnell 1875:78; Ludlow 1875:17), but also because one of the Lakota names for this prairie refers to elk.

Lakota and Cheyenne attitudes towards deer are highly ambivalent (Brown 1992:29-30; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Among the Lakotas, blacktail or mule deer are generally considered sacred messengers of the thunder beings and linked to war (Densmore 1918:195; Beckwith 1930:12n2; Powers 1977:139), but in a few sources (Dorsey, J. 1894:422; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:114-115, 119, 127, 218), they are associated with the North or the East Wind. These deer are identified with endurance and the ability to withstand thirst and deflect bullets (Densmore 1918:125; Standing Bear 1988:56). Blacktail deer dreamers, much like elk dreamers, were able to capture the reflection of others through mirrors or their sacred hoops, and they were also able to strike people dead by their glance (Wissler 1912:90; Powers 1977:58). These dreamers, *Sintesapela inhanblapi*, received medicines for use in healing too (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:137), and they could be either women or men (Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:251-253, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:429-434]). Like elk dreamers, those who dreamt of a blacktail deer held special dances, *Sintesapela kaga* (Wissler 1912:90; Hassrick 1964:239, Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:82).

In Lakota traditions, blacktail deer were also connected to the Double-Woman, *Winyan Nupakapika*, a spiritual deer figure able to transform herself into a human form and often appearing as twin sisters (Wissler 1912, 92; Hassrick 1964:191, 230; Howard, J. 1976:42; Sundstrom, L. 2002:102-106). When women dream of this spiritual figure, they are sometimes gifted with exceptional artistic talents in quillwork, beadwork, and quiltmaking (Albers and Medicine 1983; Sundstrom. L.2002). One story about the Hot Springs region and another about Wind Cave allude to this figure (Herman, n.d.; La Pointe 1976:80-84). There are rock art sites in nearby regions of the Black Hills that depict her as well (Sundstrom, L. 2002).

Whitetail deer, on the other hand were linked to the East Wind and sexual danger in Lakota thought (Wissler 1912:94-95; Powers, M. 1986:39-40; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:51). They were specifically linked to the figure of the Deer Woman, *Tahca Winyan* (apparently different from the Double-Woman deer), who appears first as a human female but then transforms herself into a deer and disappears. She is featured in a well-known story recorded by Ella Deloria (1978:74-76). Unwary men who encountered this woman subjected themselves to grave danger (Dorsey, J. 1994:450-451; Wissler 1912:94-95; Howard, J. 1976:26; (Ghost Bear in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:273-274 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:468-472]; Tyon in Walker 1980:166-167; Swan in St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:52).

Despite some of their ambivalent attitudes towards deer, the Lakotas did hold them in high regard. Deer were associated with the origin of the bow and arrow, which the Lakota learned about at the Race Track (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:310-311, 314). When *Takohe*, the first human to emerge from Wind Cave, makes a young man a *hunka* [relative] and calls him *sunk* [younger brother], he explains the sacred stories and rituals that involve the use of deer hoofs and skins. He shows the young man how to place deerskins on an altar and make them sacred, and he tells him that only certain people who have undertaken special deeds have the privilege to have their hands painted red (Walker 1983:377-378).

The Cheyennes also carried ambivalent attitudes towards deer, whose power, they believed, could be used for good or evil. Wesley Whiteman (in Schwartz 1988:55) described them as "tricky" because they can turn themselves into other forms including humans. Another Cheyenne, Wooden Leg, told Thomas Marquis (1931:52) that all deer had "strong spirit powers." Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes associated blacktail deer with rocky ledges and springs where the females of the species sometimes transformed themselves into twin women (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:49-50). The Cheyennes also believed a whitetail doe could appear as a seductress (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:50-51), but unlike the Lakotas, it was this deer, rather than the elk, that was associated with love medicine (Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2:104, 135-137). At one time, there was a special medicine society of deer dreamers similar to the Oglalas, but no information has been published on it (Anderson, R. 1956:93).

Pronghorn were highly esteemed by the Cheyennes and frequently identified as spiritual partners (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:152-153; Grinnell 1972:2:104), even though few of the spiritual attributes of this animal were ever recorded in the ethnographic literature. There is little on what the Lakotas thought about this animal either. The same holds true for bighorn, which were associated with war medicine among the Lakotas and seen as a source of visionary power (Dorsey, J. 1894:497; Wissler 1912:95; Powers, W. 1977:59). The Cheyennes considered bighorns "half mysterious," and they were animals with which people might enter into spiritual partnerships (Petter 1913-15:131). Most of the spiritually significant associations of pronghorn with sites around the Black Hills are reported for the Cheyenne and located to the north in areas along the Belle Fourche River (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972:1:277). However, a large historic pronghorn hunting pound for the Sicangu Lakotas was reported less than fifty miles due east of the Buffalo Gap at Cache Butte (Hinman 1874:91; Denig in Ewers 1961:17, 18).

c. Carnivores

As with the ungulates, the carnivores are ranked in terms of their relative spiritual importance. While the wolf is the most important and revered species for the Cheyennes, the bear ranks as the highest among the Lakotas. Next to the bison, the bear, especially the grizzly or *Hununpa* [Two-Legged], as he is addressed in sacred discourse (Walker 1980:50, 94), is the most revered land animal in Lakota culture. The Lakotas associate him with numerous qualities including wisdom, courage, and strength (Walker 1980:50-51, 53, 116, 121, 128, 227; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:109-110). Indeed, he is considered the principal guardian of wisdom (Walker 1980: 50-51, 94). With respect to courage, Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:53) had this to say: "The bear is not only a powerful animal in body but powerful in will also. He will stand and fight to the last. Though wounded he will not run but will die fighting." The bear is associated with success in warfare, and he is the one to whom appeals are made to insure the proper conduct of most sacred ceremonies (Walker 1980:227, 231, 232).

In James Walker's (1980:50-51, 128) interpretation of Lakota cosmology, the bear was listed with the third ranking Lakota deities of the *Tobtob* (4x4), which included *Tatanka*, the Four Winds, and the Whirlwind. The bear is considered highly *wakan* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Lone Bear in Walker 1980:128), a "friend of the great spirit" (Short Feather in Walker 1980:116), and one of the messengers of the Thunders (Beckwith 1930:12n412). The bear is another animal that embodies the power of the whirlwind (Wissler 1905:262). Although the bear is associated in some contexts with the Thunders and the direction of the West Wind, he is also mentioned as coming from the direction of the North Wind (Densmore 1918:197). Bears, especially the grizzly, were closely linked to herbal medicine and healing (Dorsey, J. 1894:495; Siyaka in Densmore 1918:195; Walker 1980, 116, 161).

Establishing a spiritual relationship with bears is highly regarded by the Lakotas because it allows healers to treat most ordinary forms of sickness. In addition, it enables them to treat the wounded (Wissler 1912:88; Sword in Walker 1980:90, 91; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:178-179, 278; Ingram 1989:182). Indeed, historically, only people who received bear medicine were allowed to treat most kinds of wounds (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105; Tyon in Walker 1980:161). There are many narratives of Lakota bear dreamers, *Mato inhanblapi*, in the literature and also descriptions of their ceremonial performances, *Mato kaga*, and their spiritual powers (Curtis 1907-30:3:63-64; Densmore 1918:196-197; Hassrick 1964:237, 239, 250; Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:235-238 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:404-407]; Standing Bear 1978:215; 1988:52; Sword in Walker 1980:91-92; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105; Red Hawk in Walker 1980:136; Tyon Walker 1980:157-159; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 178-179; Powers, W. 1986:187-188; Ingram 1989:182-183; Lewis, T. 1990:106-108). Women, according to Clark Wissler (1912:88) never dream of bears, although Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:21, 138, 144-145, 147, 194, 195) provide several stories of contemporary female bear dreamers. Today, Lakota bear dreamers still practice their healing powers. Although some appear to do so independently, most apply their spiritual talents in making herbal remedies or in conducting *Yuwipi* ceremonies (Feraca 1960:40; Fire and Erdoes 1972:153-154; Lewis 1990:108). Fools Crow, the famous Lakota medicine man, had spiritual partnerships with bears (Mails 1978:165).

More so than the Lakotas, who associated the bear mostly with healing, the Cheyennes appear to have placed more emphasis on its relation to warfare. The bear's strength and courage and its death-defying abilities were much admired by Cheyenne warriors who painted their shields with bear imagery and covered them with bear skins too (Grinnell 1972:1:188, 193). Still, Cheyennes received medicine from bears for healing (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:152-153; Powell 2002a:69). Like bison, bears were associated with caverns and the powers of the deep earth (Moore, J. 1974a:163). The bear was believed to be a great medicine animal because it was not only able to heal itself but also heal other bears (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:105).

In relation to the Black Hills, bears figure mostly in stories that relate to locations in their northern reaches, especially the two outlier formations, Bear Butte and Bear Lodge Butte. They are largely absent in the traditions associated with the southern Hills where Wind Cave National Park is located. This may not be entirely coincidental because, with the exception of Jedediah Smith's encounter with a grizzly, which probably took place in the southern Hills, most of the historic reports, either from European Americans or American Indians, of bear sightings take place farther north in the high elevation interiors or at the base of the Hills or its surrounding outliers, Bear Lodge Butte and Bear Butte.

Wolves and coyotes are highly revered by the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, both of whom envision these carnivores as scouts or spies who are able to communicate with humans in various ways, warning of danger and death and predicting the direction of enemies and bison (Densmore 1918:180; Grinnell 1972:2:17-18, 106-107; Walker 1982:160, 1982:95; Powers 1986:187; Brown 1992:34). Considered highly *wakan* by the Lakotas, wolves were known as messengers of the North Wind, *Waziyata* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980: 101; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125; Tyon in Walker 1980:160). Wolves were emulated because they were hardy, fast, and agile (Densmore 1918:71). They were able to produce wind or fog when they howled (Wissler 1912:91; Brown 1992:35). Those who dreamt of wolves were given powers to create foggy weather conditions. A day of dense mist and fog was known as a "wolf's day" (Wissler 1912:54, 91). Wolves are closely connected to kinnikinick, or bearberry, a plant widely associated with the Black Hills; it was from a spiritual wolf that the Lakotas learned of its use (Standing Bear 1988:103). Historically, wolves were valued for their stealth and ability to come upon a camp unseen (Tyon in Walker 1980:160). According to the Lakota Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:121), the wolf "presided over the chase and war parties." In the past, wolf dreamers were especially important to the Lakotas in helping to locate bison because wolves often traveled in the shadows of the herds; these men also played an important role in guiding war parties (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). Members of the *Hanskaska*, Chief Society or Big Bellies, were also reported to receive special warnings and directions from wolves in military matters (Wissler 1912:38-39). Wolf figures were highly respected as spiritual helpers, especially by warriors (Densmore 1918:179-183; Hassrick 1964:84; Tyon in Walker 1980:160). The men who dreamed of wolves constituted an informal association, *Sunkmanitu ihanblapi* [wolf dreamers] or *Sunkmanitou kaga* [wolf imitators], and they performed ceremonies to demonstrate their visionary power (Dorsey, J. 1894:480-481; Powers 1977:58; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:82). Wolf Society members were able to cure various sicknesses, but they were most well-known for preparing war medicines and making remedies to remove arrows (Powers, W. 1977:158; Walker 1980:90-91; Standing Bear 1988:103). Wolf dreamers were also known to make highly effective *wotawi* [war amulets] and shields (Wissler 1912:90-91; Walker 1982:95).

In Lakota traditions, the wolf is seen as an ally and partner of *Inktomi* (Walker 1980:129), the Trickster. Indeed, he played a very important role in helping *Inktomi* entice the *Pte Oyate* to the surface of the world in the *Tokahe* story, which is associated with Wind Cave (Walker 1917:181-182). In the past, Lakota sentiments about wolves were often ambivalent. On the one hand they could be associated with nefarious activities as servants of *Anog Ite*, the Double Face woman, or as helpers of *Inktomi* (Walker 1983:376). *Tatanka* and the *Pte Oyate* are often represented in perpetual conflict with wolves and coyotes (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). Wolves and coyotes are depicted as dangerous to humans in sacred liturgical texts associated with fertility and making kin (Walker 1980:222, 229, 231-232, 242, 249). Yet, at the same time, wolves could be represented as a guardians and protectors of people, as in the different renditions of the famous story of the Lakota woman who lived with the wolves (Deloria 1932:121-122; Hassrick 1964:138-139; Pijoan 1992: 66-70; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:115-117). One version of this story takes place in the Black Hills (Herman 1965b:6).

This stands in marked contrast to Cheyenne worldviews where wolves and coyotes are not only seen as companions and helpers to bison, but they occupy some of the more exalted positions in the Cheyennes' cosmological order. The Cheyennes regard them as the primary animals that the spiritual masters of game impersonated (Grinnell 1972:2:334-336; Moore, J. 1974a:175-176; Schlesier 1987:98). It was in the Cheyenne's *Massaum* or Animal Dance that the wolf figured most prominently. This ceremony, historically practiced in the Black Hills, was a symbolic recreation of the Cheyenne origin story, where the spirit of a male wolf saves the culture heroes, *Motseyoef* [Sweet Medicine] and *Tomosivsi* [Erect Horn/Stands on the Ground] and instructs

them in the teachings of life (Grinnell 1972:2:285; Schlesier 1987:53-54, 76-80). The ceremony, which lasts five days, involves the making of a wolf lodge that represents the universe before creation and the home of the wolves and their assistants, the foxes, who signify the spirit masters of the animals, released from *heszevoxsz* (the underworld), and who control the hunting of predators, including humans (Grinnell 1972:2 287-291; Schlesier 1987:80-83, 90-92, 98).

George Dorsey (1905:34) stated that the Cheyennes believe the wolf is the most tricky and cunning of all the animals and the friendliest one as well (Grinnell 1972:2:125). Wolves are much respected as spiritual guardians (Ibid:112-113), and historically, it was considered an honor for wolves and their brothers, the coyotes, to eat the flesh of dead warriors left on the prairie (Ibid:163). In the past, wolves were also strongly associated with warfare in Cheyenne traditions (Ibid:72), and Cheyenne men, who were able to interpret the howling of wolves, turned back on a war party if a wolf was killed (Ibid:105). Wolves were important spiritual partners not only in warfare but also in hunting, and they played a role in medicines associated with love and court-ship (Moore, J. 1974a:175-176).

The coyote is also highly venerated by the Cheyennes. It is an animal that *Ma'heo* sent to wander over the earth (Dorsey, G. 1905:20). This animal is believed to talk to people, and some men have the ability to interpret the coyote's howl (Dorsey, G. 1905:20; Grinnell 1972:2:105). George Bird Grinnell (Ibid.) states that coyotes "have always been considered more sacred than wolves, possibly because they are more intelligent." The Cheyennes once prayed to coyotes, asking them to lead, guide, and warn them of danger (Ibid.). Coyotes are also one of the animals that assist the Cheyennes in doctoring (Ibid:151). In earlier times, they were also associated with warfare because of their intelligence and powers of endurance (Dorsey, G. 1905:19).

Lakota attitudes towards the coyote are highly ambivalent. The coyote is considered by some to be a cunning and sly animal. In the past, their howls and droppings were reported to reveal the presence of enemies (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:213-214, 217, 335-336). Coyotes were known to give information on the whereabouts of bison and sacred plants in visions (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:208, 225), and they are also seen as a source of healing power (Smith, D. 1949:136-137; Fire and Erdoes 1972:135-136; Ingram 1989:189). The coyote is also described as the symbol of singers (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:73) and as a bearer of good news (Curtis 1909-1930:3:74). Joe Flying By, a well-known Lakota religionist from Standing Rock (in Ingram 1989:190) talked about them as follows:

> The coyotes are part of the *Sunka oyate*, the Dog nation. Dogs, foxes, wolves, coyotes, prairie dogs -- these are all relatives in the *Sunka oyate*. They were the last of the sacred people who came to the world.

According to James Walker (1983:350-351), however, the coyote was considered mischievous, associated with theft, cowardice, treachery, and other shameful behavior. In two important Lakota ceremonies, the *Hunka* and the *Pte San Lowampi*, the officiates warned participants against be-friending the coyote because he would cause trouble (Walker 1980:231-232, 249).

Among many tribal nations of the West, the coyote is the central figure of their trickster stories. Ella Deloria (1978:29) noted that he played this role in certain Lakota stories too, including one she collected entitled, "The Coyote and the Bear", (Ibid:27-29). When coyote is not playing the role of *Inktomi*, the Lakota's central trickster figure, he is often depicted as *Inktomi's* companion. Coyote and the wolf once entrapped *Inktomi* in his nefarious schemes, but *Inktomi* eventually made them his allies with the promise that "he would do nothing to make them

ashamed" (Walker 1983:296). Indeed, Old Horse told Walker (1980:129) that "*Iktomi*[15] rides wolves and coyotes." Coyote stands opposed to *Itokagata*, the South Wind, and like the bison and the wolf, he serves as an associate of *Waziya*, the giant, the old man, and/or *Waziyata*, the North Wind.

In contrast to coyotes, the Lakotas consistently respected foxes. They were revered for their persistent strength and courage, wily, clever, and cunning nature, as well as their gentleness, nimbleness, and swiftness (Wissler 1912:14; Standing Bear 1978:143, 215; Brown 1992:27). The fox was the symbol of one of the most important military societies among the Lakotas, the *Tokala* or Kit Foxes. This society was formed to keep order and harmony in Lakota camps and to protect and oversee their movements, and in some Lakota traditions, the origins of this society and its regalia are associated with Red Canyon in the southern Hills and Warbonnet Creek at the southern base of the Hills (Wissler 1912:72; LaPointe 1979:54-55). Its members also policed some of the hunts, and they went out against tribes who invaded Lakota lands (Wissler 1912:14-23; Standing Bear 1978:143-147; No Flesh in Walker 1980:193; Tyon in Walker 1980:268). Foxes were commonly associated with warriors and warfare, but they were also known to have knowledge of medicine and healing. Like other members of the canine family, the fox was regarded as highly *wakan* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980: 101).

The fox was also much admired by the Cheyennes. John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:60) described the swift fox as "a beautiful animal, fleet of foot, who never lets his prey get away from him." As among the Lakotas, these qualities recommended the fox as a guardian for warriors (Grinnell 1972:2:48, 374; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:60). Indeed, the fox served as a symbol for one of the Cheyenne's military societies, the *Wohkesh'hetaniu*, originally created by Sweet Medicine (Grinnell 1972:2:48, 374; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:60). No evidence was uncovered on any connection of foxes to medicine and curing in Cheyenne traditions or to any specific landform and region in the Black Hills.

Another highly regarded carnivore was the badger. The Cheyennes and the Lakotas view the badger as a very powerful animal (Grinnell 1972:2:105; Walker 1980:169). Iron Shell, a Lakota, told Royal B. Hassrick (1964:168):

> The badger is very strong. When a man kills a badger, if he turns it on its back, cuts open its chest and carefully removes its insides so that no blood is lost, when the blood thickens, by looking in the hunter can see his image. Should he see himself as he is, he knows he will die young. But if he sees himself as an old man with white hair, he cries, 'Hye, hye,' thanking the spirits. Now he knows he can risk getting many coup and will live long to die with a cane in his hand.

Other Lakotas report the same kind of divination practice (Fire and Erdoes 1972:133; Tyon in Walker 1980:170), and the Cheyennes have described this as well (Petter 1913-15:74; Grinnell 1972:2:26-27; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:29). Among the Lakotas, badgers, like bears, are closely associated with herbs and healing, especially for children (Brown 1997:23). Eagle Shield told Francis Densmore (1918:266) that whenever he dug for certain kinds of roots, he left some tobacco for the badger. This was another animal that stood as a symbol for an important Lakota military organization, the *Ihoka*, which was entrusted with policing communal buffalo hunts, supervising the distribution of meat, and keeping order in the larger hunting encampments (Hassrick 1964:16, 173, 203; Walker 1982:32). When Cheyennes offered a pipe to the earth, it was

[15] *Inktomi* is also known as *Ikto* or *Iktomi.*

dedicated in part to the badger (Grinnell 1972:2:105). The Cheyennes associated the badger with the feminine principal and the deep earth (Moore, J. 1974a:163), and they believed that badgers cleansed the blood spots from their Sacred Arrows when they were renewed. They also thought of the animal as a wise counselor (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

Members of the feline family, including mountain lions, lynxes, and bobcats, were considered very powerful by the Lakotas and Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:256; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101), but there is hardly any information about them in ethnographic sources for either tribal nation. Also, most of the species in the mustelid family have not been identified with any elaborate system of beliefs. Other than the badger and also the skunk, who was also associated with warfare and healing in the cultural traditions of these two tribes (Grinnell 1972:2:104; Brown 1992:34), little has been reported on the other species in this family, including weasels, ferrets, and minks, except that they were regarded as sacred and powerful (Bordeaux 1929:113; Buechel 1970:242; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Tyon in Walker 1980:168). David White (2002:160) notes that modern Lakotas place these small carnivores in high regards because of their "fighting spirit" and associate them with military matters. In the case of the Cheyennes, John Moore (1974a:240) argues that they classify most members of the mustelid family (excepting badgers and skunks) with the felines because of the strong odor of their urine. He also reports that they do not have any special religious significance. None of these carnivores are reported, at least in published sources, to have any special links with particular sites in the Black Hills, although some may very well be connected to locations where more private, individual spiritual encounters take place.

d. Small Herbivores

Among the smaller species of herbivorous mammals, only some appear to have occupied a special place in tribal cosmological traditions. The Lakotas respected rabbits for their industry and their ability to travel at night, and thus, they were sometimes associated with warfare (Beckwith, M. 1930:380). Among both the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, rabbits were connected to the Sun Dance because they symbolized the humble qualities people must exhibit when seeking spiritual gifts (Black Elk in Brown 1971:81; Grinnell 1972:1:218). The Lakotas considered them sacred (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101) and guardians "of work, provision, and of domestic faithfulness" (Black Elk in Brown 1971:121; Standing Bear 1988:61-63, 104). Historically, beavers were identified as messengers of the Thunders (Beckwith 1930:12n412) and probably connected to the West Wind. Although porcupines appear throughout the storytelling traditions of the Lakotas and Cheyennes, not much has been written about their particular spiritual qualities either. The only information found on the Lakotas is the association of the porcupine with the East Wind (Walker 1983:354, 404 n72), and its connection to the Sun (Brown 1992:102, Sundstrom. L. 2002:108). Like the tail feathers of an eagle, porcupine quills were identified with the Sun's rays (Brown 1992:102). For the Cheyennes, there is an important and sacred story of the origin of quillwork that can be linked, at least indirectly, to the Buffalo Gap; the origin of quillwork came from the same man who married a buffalo woman and followed her to her people (Grinnell 1972:1:160-164:2:385-391). The Buffalo Wife story comes from the Suhtaio division of the tribe, and in some renditions (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-480), it is related to the Great Race of the animals which started at the Buffalo Gap and crossed lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park.

Because of their burrowing habits, the Lakotas considered prairie dogs especially sacred (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). As one unidentified Lakota shaman put it, " Everything has a spirit. A prairie dog has a spirit. A prairie dog has two

spirits: one the spirit like a tree and one the spirit like the breath of life. The breath of life is given by *Wakanskanskan*" (in Walker 1980:118). This power of movement, which the prairie dog shared with the deer and the grouse, prevented hunters from hitting them (Standing Bear 1988:57). Standing Bear (1988:158-159) described some of their habits:

> Prairie dogs were known as 'little farmers,' for they cleared the ground about their dwelling places and soon after there began to grow a plant upon which they lived. Whether they had a system of planting or not we never found out, but it was noticeable that wherever these little animals took up their abode their food plants soon took the place of weeds. Neither did we ever see a prairie dog 'town' in the process of changing location though it was done quite often. If these animals traveled overland they left no trails, though within their 'towns' the trails were numerous, so it was supposed that they dug tunnels through which they traveled in a body. Yet at that we were mystified when they moved their towns from one side of a stream to the other. The deserted towns of the prairie-dog seemed to be refertilized, no doubt on account of the air and water that got into the soil, for they soon were covered with grass that afforded excellent feed for our stock. These grassy places we traveled with care, for when the prairie-dogs moved out, the rattlesnakes moved in.

He also observed that the clean soil found around their towns was used to heal wounds (Standing Bear 1978:215). The Cheyennes also linked the prairie dog to cultivation. They saw a relationship between corn and prairie dogs, both of which emerged from under the ground on small mounds. Prairie dog teeth were likened to kernels of corn because of their yellow coloration – a color also connected symbolically to a newborn bison's coat (Anderson 1958; Moore, J. 1974a: 164).

William Bordeaux (1929:108) reported that prairie dogs were closely associated with herbal medicine among the Lakotas and that people who dreamed of this animal possessed secret medical knowledge on the use of certain plants. William Powers (1982:13) explains that soils brought up from underneath the earth by prairie dogs and badgers contain the purifying properties of the underworld, and as a result, they are considered especially efficacious for healing and religious activity. Elsewhere, he notes that animals who burrow in the earth are held sacred because they transverse the space between subterranean environments and the earth's surface in a manner that mirrors the Lakotas' own story of their emergence from the underworld (Powers, W. 1986: 113, 162). Insofar as prairie dogs, badgers, voles, and other burrowing animals dig up earth connected to the Race Track or the subterranean world of the bison at Wind Cave, they would be especially significant to the Lakotas. The soils they bring to the earth's surface from these locations would also have considerable cultural importance, especially for use in the making of ceremonial altars.

The smallest of the herbivores, the squirrels, chipmunks, voles, mice, rats, and shrews are mentioned in Lakota and Cheyenne stories told to children (Gilmore 1919:96; Ewers 1961:11; Hassrick 1964:179; Grinnell 1972:1:149, 254; Standing Bear 1978:57; Walker 1983:271, 371), and some are reported to serve as spiritual partners (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:116-117). Whatever special symbolic or spiritual significance is attached to them has not been elaborated upon in the sources we reviewed, although many of the stories about mice are associated with the value of generosity and reciprocity. One notable exception is the pocket gopher. Pocket gophers were considered sacred and feared because they were believed to shoot people with the tip of a certain grass that causes scrofulous lesions (Dorsey, J. 1894:496; Standing Bear 1988:62; Tyon in Walker 1980:169). Possibly related to this belief, the pocket gopher was strongly associated with warfare. The pulverized dirt found around gopher holes was used as a war medicine. Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:135 n25, 337, 340) reported that the famous Lakota medicine man Chips gave some of this dirt to Crazy Horse for protection in battle, and he also told about his own

vision of a gopher that transformed itself into a herb used in war and able to "destroy a nation" (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:135, 137). The Cheyennes believe that the loose soil around the gopher's hole is highly dangerous and capable of causing cancer and other diseases (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Historically, they avoided the places where these animals built their mounds (Petter 1913-15:519). The idea that the dirt around gopher hills is powerful is connected with a wider belief applied to other animals who burrow in the ground that was discussed briefly in relation to prairie dogs and that also applies to voles (Powers, W.1992:160).

e. Crawling Insects

Like mammals that burrow in the ground, ants are held in high regard by the Lakotas because they constantly move between the subterranean world and the earth's surface (Powers, W. 1986:113). Ants are known to afflict people with disease, but they are also strongly associated with healing in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions (Grinnell 1972:2:138; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:195). An ant appears in one of the Lakotas' Falling Star stories and provides the hero protection in his travels (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:400, 405, 409). Little material exists on other crawling insects in either the Lakota or Cheyenne sources reviewed for this report.

3. Creatures of the Water

The Lakotas, along with the Cheyennes, hold the idea that certain insects, amphibians, and reptiles were especially sacred because they were able to transverse more than one tier of the cosmos (Powers, W. 1982:13). All of the creatures that swim and many of those that crawl on the land including reptiles, amphibians, fish, and mollusks, were associated with the powers of water. Reptiles, which are typically identified as land rather than water animals, were believed to have aquatic origins. Rather than being associated with the ground water of lakes, rivers, and springs, they were connected to water through the action of thunder, lightning, and rainfall. Lizards, frogs, and turtles for example, were simultaneously linked to the earth and the sky because, according to William Powers (1986:162), "it was believed...that these species fell to the earth during rainstorms." This idea was also recorded in the ethnographic writings of George Bushotter (in Dorsey, J. 1889: 136). A similar belief also exists among the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1974a:157).

In Lakota traditions, lizards are the *akicita* of the Thunders, and in information given by Thomas Tyon, William Garnett, Thunder Bear, George Sword, and John Blunt Horn (in Walker 1982:104), they are associated with "increase, nourishment, and growth." They are also linked with healing (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:183). In some references, however, the lizard is considered the messenger of the Thunders' enemy, the *Unktehi*, a class of water spirits (Seven Rabbits in Walker 1980:118; Dorsey, J. 1894:482). The Cheyennes admire the small quick moving lizards for their swift motion and ability to kill snakes. Lizards are considered powerful war charms, giving courage to their wearers and the power to move quickly and escape bullets and arrows (Grinnell 1972:2:110, 111). The Lakotas also admire them because they are known to kill snakes (Bordeaux 1929:113). The Cheyennes do not kill lizards, and if they do so accidentally, they make offerings to them. The Cheyennes also believe that the power associated with lizards is a source of protection but a danger too. In earlier times, certain doctors specialized in treating afflictions caused by this animal (Grinnell 1972:2:131).

Pouches in the shape of a lizard are made by the Lakotas to hold the umbilical cord of male infants in order to protect them from danger, especially the malevolent, *Anog-Ite*, the Two Faced Woman, who is seen as an enemy of the *Wakinyan* or Thunders (Standing Bear 1978:184; Tyon,

Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword and Blunt Horn in Walker 1982:104; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112). William Powers (1986:162) elaborates further on the symbolism associated with lizards:

> The lizard can disappear easily into small crevices and therefore represents not only areas above the earth and the earth's surface but also places beneath the earth. The word t'elanuns'e means 'almost dead' and refers to the fact that the lizard can deceive enemies by holding itself very still. It is also regarded as capable of living to an old age, which is also true of the other creatures in this category.

Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes make pouches in the shape of a lizard and also a salamander to hold an infant's umbilical cord (Grinnell 1972:2:110; Rockroads in Leman 1987:214), a practice followed by the Arapahos, who also make small paint bags in the likeness of lizards (Trenholm 1970:60, 73).

Turtles are associated with protection in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions too. In contrast to lizards, which are typically linked to male symbolism, turtles are generally connected to female imagery. The turtle's simultaneous link with earth and water imbues it with feminine and procreative symbolism in Lakota cosmology (Meeker 1901:163; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112). The Lakotas believe that the turtle spirit is a wise protector of life. Its shield protects it from being wounded; thus, it is associated with powers over surgery, accidents, conception, birth, infants, and illnesses specific to women (Walker 1917:147; Tyon in Walker 1980:122; Walker 1980:249). In the *Pte San Lowanpi*, the turtle was held up as an animal for young women to emulate because "it hears many things and does not tell anything" (Walker 1980:249). As with lizards, pouches to hold an infant's umbilical cord are often made in the shape of a turtle (Wissler 1904:241). The Cheyennes also consider the turtle a sacred animal because it is difficult to kill (Marriott and Rachlin 1975:78; Grinnell 1972:1:193). Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes connect the turtle to the womb and birth (Petter 1913-15:1072), and they place an infant's umbilical cord in pouches made in the form of a turtle (Grinnell 1972:2:110). The Cheyennes consider it a very sacred animal, and link it to the time when the earth was still shrouded in a primordial mist (Petter 1913-15:489, 1072; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:116). Cheyenne doctors also appeal to turtles in some of their healing treatments (Grinnell 1972:1:146).

Unlike other reptiles, which are highly valued by the Lakotas, snakes are generally feared and avoided (Brown 1992:40; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:113). Snakes are seen as sly and deceitful (Tyon in Walker 1980:122), and dreams of them generally portend death and disaster (Dorsey, J. 1894:479-80). In the past, they were considered the messengers of the much reviled water creatures, the *Unktehi* (Tyon in Walker 1980:118). Indeed, Good Seat (in Walker 1980:71) claimed that the spirits of this bad animal did not move on to the spirit world. In a Falling Star story, a snake is asked to raise the hero, but he declines saying "No, I am the most unliked and most pitiful animal of all. I have no legs and have to crawl on my stomach and I eat dirt and can't get around much. I am not liked and I am not fit to raise him" (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397). In contrast, the Cheyennes and the Arapahos hold the snake in much higher regard. In the Arapaho creation story, the garter snake sacrificed itself by becoming the circumference of the universe. The outer rim of the Arapahos' sacred Wheel has one end tapered like the tail of a snake and the other fashioned into its head (Trenholm 1970:56; Harrod 1997:51). The Cheyennes believe the blue racer, which came from the sun, possesses great power (Grinnell 1972:1:150).

According to Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:122), frogs were closely associated with "occult powers" among the Lakotas. They were also viewed as the soldiers of the Thunders, *Wakinyan*

(Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear Sword and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). The Cheyennes probably linked frogs to the thunders too because tadpoles were painted on the ankles of the blacktail deer dancers in their Sun Dance (Powell 1969:834). William Powers (1986:162) notes that the Lakotas view frogs as mediators between earth and water. Along with toads, they are linked with certain methods of healing among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes (Densmore 1948: 179; Grinnell 1972:1: 111, 150-151, 2:135; Tyon in Walker 1980:161; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:197).

Finally, Lakotas consider fish *wakan*, a "patron of abolition," and a source of healing power connected to water (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:101; Tyon in Walker 1980:122; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:139). The Cheyennes also linked fish to healing (Grinnell 1972:2:151). Although both tribes have respect for the powers of fish, there are few details on what these entail in the ethnographic materials consulted for this report. Unlike mammals, there is little in the literature that connects water creatures to the area of Wind Cave National Park. There may very well be links to some of the park's springs or the neighboring Hot Springs, but none of these are reported in the sources we covered for this report.

4. Spiders

The spider is one of the most significant spiritual presences in Lakota cosmology and important to the Cheyennes as well. In both tribal traditions, the spiritual figure of the trickster is revealed in the form of a spider (Grinnell 1972:2:111; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:35). The trickster is seen, according to Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:122), as the "presiding genius of pranks and practical jokes with power to work magic over persons and things." Spider is the first animal of creation, the first to develop language and thus the one to name all other animals. He is cunning yet hapless, deceitful yet naive, arrogant yet cowardly; he is a creator and a destroyer, a quintessential symbol of cosmic foible and contradiction (Brown 1992:47-48). The spider appears in a wide range of traditional stories, many of which were used to instruct children (Grinnell 1926; Deloria 1978). But he also appears among the Lakotas as a central figure in their creation narratives (Walker 1983).

In many ways, the spider defies easy categorization in tribal cosmologies and naming practices. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:47) notes in reference to the Lakotas, "the spider is special because it transcends classification because it carries features that tie it to all categories of animals." The spider is also powerful because it can move across all of the spaces in the Lakota and Cheyenne cosmos from the underworld to the sky, and because it makes a web that replicates the universe and reaches out to the four directions (Wissler 1904:248-249; Grinnell 1972:2:88-89; Powers, W. 1986:156). Luther Standing Bear (1978:26-27) told a story that reflects the spider's ubiquitous presence as follows:

> A Lakota brave was once holding his vigil and fasting. In his vision there came to him a human figure all in black. The person in black handed to the brave a plant and said, 'Wrap this plant in a piece of buckskin and hang it in your tipi. It will keep you in good health.' When the brave asked who was speaking to him, the figure answered, 'I can walk on the water and I can go beneath the water. I can walk on the earth, and I can go into the earth. Also I can fly in the air. I can do more work than any other creature, and my handiwork is everywhere yet no one knows how I work. I am Spider. Go home and tell your people that the Spider has spoken to you.' This happened long ago, but the Lakotas still use the Spider's medicine.

Spiders are also described as mysterious and spiritually wise (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Powers, W. 1986:155-156); they are among a select group of spiritual figures that are appealed to in most major Lakota ceremonies (Walker 1980: 208). They are also widely associated with healing power (Powers 1992:156-157; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110-111, 156). George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:111) also wrote that the spider was an animal the Cheyennes associated with medicine, although he did not specify the nature of the connection.

Another source of the spider's power is its link to the Thunders, also descended from *Inyan.* According to William Powers (1986:156), the Thunders are the only living beings that can attack spiders without fear of retaliation. There are a couple accounts about the dangerous consequences of killing spiders without offering them prayers (Dorsey, J. 1894:479; Tyon in Walker 1980:170). Historically, at least, the Lakotas believed the spider's web to be indestructible, and they often imitated its design to ward off the dangers of the Thunders (Wissler 1904:44). The design was also used to deflect other sorts of danger too (Powers, W. 1986:159). Generally speaking, the spider was appealed to and imitated in a wide variety of contexts where people required protection.

The Lakotas also attached other symbolic associations to the spider, notably its connection to technology and industry. Oscar Howe (in St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:49-50) told a story of how the spider design, *tohokmu*, came to the people. In this story, a young hunter, while searching for game, took shelter in a cave and fell asleep. When he awoke the next morning, he saw a beautiful web above his head. Because he admired it and did not bring harm to its maker, the spider gifted him with knowledge of a hill where stones for making arrowheads could be found. She also instructed him how to make the arrowheads, a technology that the Lakotas believe was invented by spiders. In Lakota traditions, there is a fundamental connection between the spiritual powers of spiders and stones (Powers, W. 1982:12-13). Arrowheads and stone clubs abandoned on the prairie are commonly attributed to the work of spiders (Smith, D. 1949:308; DeMallie 1984:311n6; Brown 1992:47). In *Yuwipi* ceremonies, spiders and stones are often addressed simultaneously and even interchangeably in prayer and song (Powers, W. 1986:156-157).

The industry of the spider was not only linked to the making of arrowheads, but it was also associated with women's work. In the buffalo sing for a young woman, the intercessor says, "A spider, a turtle, the voice of the lark, a brave man, children, a smoking tipi" (Walker 1980:249). According to Walker (1980:249), the spider served as a model for an industrious woman who pvides adequate food and shelter for her children. Indeed, women who excel at quillwork often linked their abilities to the spiritual influence of the spider (Sundstrom. L. 2002:106).

There is still another symbolic association and that is, the connection of the spider's web to the Four Winds and the Whirlwind. Like the whirlwind and its associates, the dragonfly and butterfly, the spider is understood to emerge from a cocoon, which holds the power that gives rise to its own movement and life force. In many ways, cocoons and caves are symbolic equivalents in so far as they both represent enclosed spaces where life is incubated, awaiting rebirth and regeneration (Brown 1992:49).

Finally, the spider's web, *tawogmunke*, [meat trap] or *tawokaske* [to tie or imprison meat][16] was also associated with trickery and entrapment in Lakota traditions, especially in matters of romantic interest (Buechel 1970:485; Powers, W. 1986:152). Like the hoop of the elk dreamer, the spider's web had the power to attract and catch a member of the opposite sex (Brown 1992:

[16] In these two words, "ta" is a contraction of *talo* or meat. In the first word, *wogmunke* means a trap: thus, the translation "meat trap." In the second, *wokaske* refers to a tie (or knot) or the action of something being tied.

49), and so the spider's image was often painted on the lower corner of a courting robe (Wissler 1905:267).

Spider symbolism is connected to the area of Wind Cave National Park in several different ways. First, and perhaps most importantly, it is the spider that uses its guile and trickery to bring *Tokahe* and other humans to the earth's surface from their underground home at Wind Cave. Secondly, spiders are connected to the power of the Four Winds, whose life force is enveloped within and emerges from a chrysalis formation, which like a cave connects the spiritual and physical side of all life. And finally, the spider is closely linked to art and manufacture, especially the making of objects from flint found in many outcroppings in the park.

In concluding, the Lakotas and Cheyennes imbue the animals in their respective universes with diverse spiritual attributes, which are of considerable significance to humans as a source of protection, health, and general well-being. Their whereabouts, but especially their spiritual homes of origin, many of which are associated with the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park in particular, remain a matter of great importance to the Lakotas and Cheyennes in the practice of their religions and other cultural traditions. Today, it is the spiritual side of the human connection to animals that is most strongly upheld in their relationship to Wind Cave National Park and its environs.

VI. UTILIZATION PATTERNS

The importance of animals to the well-being of local tribes is not only evidenced in their reverential attitudes towards them, but also in the considerable knowledge they hold about their physical features, habits, and habitats. The Lakotas and Cheyennes hold complex naming systems for important species. This is especially true for the bison, for which they had as many as twenty different names that distinguished this animal by its sex, age, size, and other significant characteristics (see Appendix A). They also had an elaborate system of knowledge about animal anatomy and the uses to which different body parts could be put (see Table 2). The Cheyennes and Lakotas used the body parts of animals for a wide variety of different purposes such as food and medicine, for shelter and tools, and in ritual and ceremony. Although some of these uses are described here, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A for more detailed information on this subject organized by the order and species of various animals.

A. As Food

A wide range of animals were taken as food by the tribal nations who lived in the region of the Black Hills, but the flesh of ruminant species was their main staple. Of the different ungulates that the Lakotas and Cheyennes consumed, bison provided a major source of meat, and nearly all parts of the animal were consumed (Curtis 1907-30:3:38; Ewers 1938:16; Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:255). In reference to the Lakotas, James Walker (1982:74) wrote:

> Some products of the buffalo were used in almost everything that the Oglalas did in their daily life, but the most important was the supply of food. They ate every part of the animal which could be masticated; for instance, they considered the testicles of the bulls a choice part and the fetus boiled in the water from the gravid uterus a great delicacy.

The tongue and the gristles around the nostrils were considered delicacies and often served at ceremonial feasts (Ewers 1938:16; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255). The raw liver soaked in gall was highly prized and believed to enhance courage and bravery, while the equally de-

sirable raw kidneys were seen as necessary for good health (Bordeaux 1929:126; Ewers 1938:16; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255; Standing Bear 1978:54; Walker 1982:64, 93-94; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Pancreas and tripe were favorite dishes too (Grinnell 1972:1: 255; Standing Bear 1978:54). The flesh from the hump of the buffalo was relished and served on ceremonial occasions; the elders favored this meat because of its tenderness (Ewers 1938:16; Hassrick 1964:190; Walker 1982:64; Brown 1992:14). Other pieces of meat desired by the elders included the layer of meat that lies along the stomach and another that follows the hide along the back (Brown 1992:14). The brains were used to thicken soups (Standing Bear 1978:54), and the small intestines were made into sausages with bits of boiled or roasted meat, blood, and/or tallow (Bordeaux 1929:126; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386; Brown 1992:14). The bones were split and the contents eaten, or they were boiled to release the marrow, a necessary ingredient in the making of pemmican (Grinnell 1972: 1:255; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386; Brown 1992:14). The lungs were cut open, dried and roasted over coals (Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255), and the many plies, testicles, eyes, and glands of the calf envelope were also consumed (Bordeaux 1929:126; Ewers 1938:16). The shavings from scraped hides were used as thickeners in making soups and puddings. Hide scrapings were also consumed during difficult times, and even rawhide containers could be boiled and eaten under emergency circumstances (Ewers 1938:16). As John Ewers (1938:16) wrote: "But in times of food shortage all parts of the buffalo, save the glands of the neck, the sinews, bull's pizzle, horns, hoofs, and hair were eaten." The salivary glands were probably not eaten because a number of tribes in the northern plains believed that the light-colored tissues of these organs retained the remnants of human flesh from the time the bison were the predators and humans their prey (Grinnell 1926: 93; Geist 1996:35).

Bison meat was butchered and prepared in many different ways. Some of the internal organs were eaten raw, but most food parts were either boiled in soups or roasted over hot coals (Bordeaux 1929:126; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386). Much of the meat from the loins and back of the animal was cut into long slices and dried in the sun on large racks, or it was smoked over hot coals inside the lodge. After being dried, it was usually pounded and combined with dried fruit and tallow in small cakes, commonly called pemmican (Grinnell 1972:1:255; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386; Brown 1992:14). Some of the Lakotas' favorite cooked bison dishes, as reported in Ferdinand Hayden's early writings (1862:370), included a boiled mixture of blood, brain, rosebuds, and rawhide scrapings and a stew of wild turnips or beans combined with beaver tail and the dried paunch of a bison. In modern times, a soup made from the intestines of bison, mixed with wild turnips and corn, is still served on special occasions (Albers 1966-1976).

For the Lakotas and Cheyennes, the three species of *Cervidae*, elk, mule deer, and whitetail deer provided important meat staples too. From the late fall through the early months of spring, their flesh was consumed as much as bison (Densmore 1918:447; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:154-155; Grinnell 1972:1:257). Indeed, next to bison, elk and deer were the major sources of meat for the Lakotas who lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Ewers 1938:17; Hassrick 1964:164). Deer flesh was the meat that the Lakotas favored most after buffalo, and they considered it especially healthy because of the fresh leaves and berries on which this animal fed (Brown 1992:16, 30). Studies of browse utilization by deer in the Black Hills confirms this: ground juniper, bur oak, ponderosa pine, hop hornbeam, Oregon grape, bearberry, chokecherry, buffaloberry, blue aster, pussytoes, wild rose, and yucca are among the nutritious plants they consume (Turner 1974:140).

Pronghorns were a significant source of meat for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, and once again, they were probably as important in local diets as buffalo during certain seasons (Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:154-155; Grinnell 1972:1:257). Big-horn flesh was

highly valued in tribal diets as well, but it was probably not eaten as often as the meat of other ungulates (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:272, 277; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Hoebel 1960:64; Brown 1997:17).

In Lakota and Cheyenne cultures, with the exception of a few species, carnivores were not usually taken as a source of food. The young puppies of coyotes and wolves were sometimes eaten by the Cheyennes (Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:256, 2:198). Yet, George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:105) claims that in earlier times no one killed coyotes. The Cheyennes, however, occasionally hunted adult wolves for their meat (Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:256, 2:198). Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9), an elderly Cheyenne woman, reported that their meat was desirable, but Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:90) claimed that the flesh of older wolves was unpalatable and eaten only when other food was scarce. Although the Lakotas commonly ate the puppies of domesticated dogs on ceremonial occasions, only one source (Bordeaux 1929:126) mentions the consumption of wolves. There are no reports of foxes being hunted for food by either tribe.

The cubs of various wild cats were eaten by the Cheyennes, but only in times of starvation (Grinnell 1972:1:256). Some Lakotas were also known to eat feline flesh, but, as Hayden (1862b: 140) reported, their consumption was considered very dangerous (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:168; Walker 1980:169). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:169):

> Whoever mutilates *(wicayupxun)* a mountain lion or a wild cat or even a house cat will have terrible things happen to him, it is said. That man's hand leg or foot becomes completely dislocated (iataya napxunpsun), it is said. Therefore, nobody eats cats, they believe. They are very afraid of them, all cats. This is the end of information on cats. So it is.

Royal B. Hassrick (1964:199) also reported that people had to take care when butchering wildcats and not tear their joints. Otherwise, they would suffer joint pain. The Cheyennes also ate bear meat (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90), and the Lakotas did so too, especially on ceremonial occasions (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:157).

The Cheyennes and Lakotas considered badger flesh a delicacy (Beckwith, M. 1930:381; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:169; Grinnell 1972:1:256), and both tribes consumed skunk meat was as well. In fact, the Lakotas thought skunk was good for making people fat (Left Heron in Beckwith 1930:380-381, 420; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:168; Grinnell 1972:1:256). Other mustelids, such as ferrets, weasels, and minks, are not reported as a food source. William Bordeaux (1929:126) claimed the Lakotas never ate these small animals.

Several of the smaller herbivorous species were also believed to be a good source of meat. All species of rabbits were eaten and considered good food (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Denig in Ewers 1961:13). Porcupines were widely hunted not only for their quills but also their flesh (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Lyford 1940:42). As Standing Bear (1975:16-17) wrote referring to his childhood: "In those days we used to eat porcupine. Every portion of the body was used." The meat of the beaver was highly prized by both tribes as well (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Grinnell 1972:1:296), and again, Standing Bear (1988:63) wrote: "The meat of the beaver is quite good, the tail being entirely of fat. When cooked, this tail tastes something like cheese, and we ate it with our lean meat like bread." Squirrels were also a favorite food, especially of elderly Lakota women who boiled the meat until it was so tender it did not have to be chewed (Hassrick 1964:168). Finally, prairie dogs were

TABLE 2. Selected Lakota Names for the Body Parts of Bison and Other Animals

Bladder	*Waloh'egnaka*
Brain	*Tanasula*
Breast	*Tatahpa*
.....(breast-bone)	*Tamakuhu*
Colon	*Tascup'owotanla*
Diaphram	*Tapa'ga*
Dung	*Tacesli*
.....(bison)	*Ptece*
Ear (bison)	*Ptenakpa*
Eye (bison)	*Pteista*
Fat	*Cesiksice*
Flank	*Tucuste*
Flesh (in general)	*Talo*
(near knee)	*Tahuwapahpa*
(below knee)	*Tanapkan*
(foreleg)	*Tanawicite*
Gall	*Tapizi*
Gullet	*Tawinapce*
Hair	*Tahin*
Heart	*Tacanta*
.....(A piece of fat attached to the heart)	*Tacantopazan*
Hide	*Tahuka*
Intestines	*Tasupa*
Kidney	*Tajontka*
Kidney fat	*Tapaksin*
Liver	*Tapi*
Mouth (roof of)	*Tacaka*
Muscle	*Tahpiyogin*
Neck	*atahu*
Nerve	*takan*
.....(nerve running over back)	*Tacankasluta*
Paunch (bison)	*Taniga Nige*
.....(thin layer of fat covering paunch)	*Tacejiksica*
Pericardium	*Tacanta ogin*
Rib	*Tucuhu*
Shoulder	*Tablo*
	Tahinyete
Shoulder Blade	*Tablohu*
Shoulder Sinew	*Tablokan*
Spleen	*Tapisleca*
Spine .....(first bones of bison's spinal column)	*Tacan'hahake*
Stomach	*Tapo*
Tail	*Tasinta*
Tendon	*takan*
Tongue	*Taceji*
Udder	*Taza*
Urine	*Talejaf*
Wind-Pipe	*Taglogloska*
Womb	*Tatamani*

[*Drawn from Buechel 1970: 472-486, 663, 675]

taken for their meat, which was considered very tasty (Vestal 1934:7; Hassrick 1964:168; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Moore, J. 1974a:164; Standing Bear 1988:158-159). The smallest herbivorous mammals, mice, gophers, voles, and shrews, are not reported as a source of food in either tribe.

Traditionally at least, animals associated with the sky were viewed as a means of protection rather than a source of nourishment. All game birds, many species of shorebirds and waterbirds, and some small land birds, however, were taken as food. The eggs of these and other kinds of birds were relished, commonly collected by women and children, and boiled for consumption (Bordeaux 1929:131; Hassrick 1964:169; Grinnell 1972:1:248). Different varieties of grouse, for example, were considered fine birds to eat by the Lakotas and Cheyennes; they were often taken in the fall when they fed on ripened buffaloberries and rosebuds (Bordeaux 1929:129, 200; Moore, J. 1986:184, 186; Standing Bear 1988:68). Ducks, geese, and wild turkey were also hunted at this time of the year (Moore, J. 1986:181, 186). The Lakotas sometimes took crows and magpies, but, normally, they did not eat either bird unless facing starvation (Bordeaux 1929:129; Hassrick 1964:172). The Cheyennes captured crows in times of hunger, but they never ate magpies, not even when starving, because they were so highly respected (Grinnell 1972:1:256). The snowbird or junco [*Junco hyemalis*] was another bird eaten by the Lakotas. It is significant because of its association with Wind Cave in the Lakota origin story (Hassrick 1964:214; Walker 1983:371). The Lakota call this bird *cantku' sa'pela*, (Buechel 1970:799), and according to Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:169):

> To catch snowbirds, we took several horsehairs with nooses at one end and tied them to a stick, about six inches apart. This we laid on a bare spot of earth from which the snow had blown away. Then from a distance we waited to watch a flock settle. When one little bird would fly up, he would get caught and as we approached the others would fly, but several would catch their feet in the tiny nooses. Snowbirds were good boiled or roasted on coals.

The Lakotas and Cheyennes probably ate other kinds of small land birds as well, but there is little information on this in the ethnographic sources we reviewed.

The Lakotas and Cheyennes ate none of the amphibians, and only one group of reptiles: turtles. Turtles were considered a delicacy by both tribes (Bordeaux 1929:129; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:256). When turtles were killed by the Cheyennes, their entrails were removed. Standing on the edges of their shells, they were placed around a fire and roasted. Sometimes, they were boiled in their shells (Grinnell 1972:1:308). The Lakotas usually boiled their turtle meat in soups (Hassrick 1964:173; Standing Bear 1978: 64; Walking Bull 1980:11-12). The Cheyennes and Lakotas also consumed several varieties of fish, including suckers, catfish, and redfins. Both tribes collected crayfish and mollusks from local waters too (Bordeaux 1929:131; Buechel 1970:334, 501; Grinnell 1972:1:221), but this source of food did not rank very high at least among the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1974a:208). Insects were normally not taken for food, although the Lakotas are reported to have consumed grasshoppers in times of starvation (Kelly 1933:123-124).

TABLE 3. List of Animals Historically Located at Wind Cave National Park Taken As Food by the Cheyennes and Lakotas

Ungulates
Bighorn
Bison
Elk
Mule Deer
Pronghorn
Whitetail Deer

Carnivores
Badger
Bear
Mountain Lion
Skunk
Wolf

Small Herbivores
Beaver
Porcupine
Prairie Dog
Rabbit
Squirrel

Birds
Crow
Duck
Geese
Grouse
Junco
Turkey

Reptiles, Fish, and Crustaceans
Crayfish
Mollusks
Redfin
Sucker
Turtle

B. In Medicine and Hygiene

Animals were very important in Lakota and Cheyenne medicinal treatments. Besides the wider spiritual and symbolic roles they played in healing (see Appendix A), their various body parts were used in making medicines and hygienic products. Associated as they were symbolically and practically with nourishment and reproduction, the ungulates provided many different products for medicinal use, but unfortunately, only a few of these have been documented in ethnographic sources on either the Lakotas or the Cheyennes. The internal organs of various ungulates were highly valued as remedies because they were considered to have properties necessary to good health. Deer liver, for example, was considered a good medicine to keep an infant from continuously crying (Beckwith, M. 1930:390). The liver, pancreas and kidneys of bison were especially prized and were eaten to maintain good health (Ewers 1938:16; Freeland 1938:4; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255; Standing Bear 1978:54; Walker 1982:64, 93-94; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Undoubtedly, they were used in treatments for specific illnesses and injuries as well. The bones of ungulates were certainly employed for these purposes. Bison horns and hoofs were reported in Lakota remedies for blood diseases (Goose in Densmore 1918:251), and rawhide from this animal went into the manufacture of splints to heal bone fractures (Densmore 1948:178). Also, fragments of elk bones were mixed in medicines for treating fractures (Densmore 1918:252-253; Bordeaux 1929:157).

One organ widely used in the making of bags for keeping medicines and sacred objects was the bladder (Curtis 1907-30:3:72, 73, 86, 87; Densmore 1918:71, 77, 79, 103; Ewers 1938: 60; Grinnell 1972:1:212-213; Walker 1982:100; Brown 1992:122). In fact, the Lakotas considered the bladder of the bison to be sacred because as Black Elk (in Brown 1971:104) states, "it could contain the whole universe." A deer bladder functioned as a nipple to feed broth to Lakota infants (Brown 1992:16), while deer or antelope udders were used for this purpose among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:106). The skins of various ungulates also went into the making of bags that held medicines and ceremonial objects (Curtis 1905-1930:3:100, 102, 105, 140-141; Densmore 1918: 79; Ewers 1938:51, 53; Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2:81; Brown 1992:122). The entire skin of various carnivores were also valued for making bags, coverings, or wrappings for medicines and other sacred objects The Cheyennes and Lakotas commonly put their medicines in pouches made from the skins of skunks and other mustelid species (Densmore 1918:253; Grinnell 1972:2:104; Lewis, T. 1990:110; Brown 1992:17). Bear, wolf, and coyote skins were especially prized for this purpose (Wissler 1912:57-58; Grinnell 1972:2:188, 193, 194, 198-199, 290, 2:74). Some skins were also rubbed on patients when doctoring. One Cheyenne healer doctored with a skunk skin, and badger skins were employed in the same way too (Grinnell 1972:2:134, 146). Even the hair of carnivores might be used in healing as in the Cheyenne practice of treating childbirth complications with hair from a yellow wolf (Moore, J. 1974a:176).

Other bodily parts had important medicinal functions too. The claws of certain birds and carnivores were used to mix medicines. The Cheyennes relied on badger claws for this purpose (Grinnell 1972:2:146), while the Lakotas employed bear claws to clean wounds (Densmore 1918:253, 1948:179; Standing Bear 1978:215). Lakotas used eagle claws in medicinal treatments, and in one application, flakes were scratched from their surface and mixed in a decoction as a remedy for scrofulous sores (Densmore 1918:253). The Cheyennes used turkey beards in making certain unidentified medicines (Grinnell 1972:1:134). The tails of mule deer were employed by Lakotas to apply ointments in healings performed by bear doctors (Powers, W. 1986:187), and the Cheyennes used them in medicine-making as well (Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2:123-124). Turtle hearts went into remedies for infertility and menstrual disorders (Wissler 1904:241-242; Walker 1917: 147). Louise Plenty Holes, a Lakota woman, told Mark St. Pierre

and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:83) how a deer tendon, *takan*, was used to tie off an infant's umbilical cord. Finally, eagle and kingfisher feathers had a variety of different medicinal applications (Grinnell 1972:2:151; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:240-241; Standing Bear 1988:90; Brown 1992:43). Finally, the Lakotas fashioned pronghorn ears and badger paws into medicine bags (Densmore 1948:178, 179). The well-known Hunkpapa leader Sitting Bull was reported to have owned a medicine bag made from the ears of a pronghorn (Densmore 1918:252).

The bodily secretions of animals had specific medicinal uses as well. The Lakotas made a paste from buffalo fat, red clay, and ash that served as a skin cream and cleanser (Standing Bear 1978:118). Among the Cheyennes, animal tallow was a compound in the making of salves for a variety of medicinal purposes (Grinnell 1972:2:142). The Lakotas used extracts from various parts of an elk's body to make "love potions" (Wissler 1912:88; Densmore 1918:178-179; Hassrick 1964:114, 116; Standing Bear 1978:217; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:25). Skunk musk was smeared on the chest to treat colds and other respiratory complications (Beckwith, M. 1930:420; Standing Bear 1978:34; Grinnell 1972:2:104), and in some applications, it was mixed with elk fat (Bordeaux 1929:109). The Lakotas made medicines out of badger fat to treat baldness and to heal scrofula (Fire and Erdoes 1972:172; Walker 1980:169-170).

Even the excrement of some animals had medicinal or hygienic applications. Because of their absorbent properties, buffalo chips were used in lieu of diapers. As Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984: 379-380) describes this:

> With diapers, if it is wet, you have to take it off and put on a clean one. But we used buffalo chips [dried dung]. The women packed them--the old [dried] pieces--and used them for diapers. First they powdered them up and put the powder into the skin. Whenever they wanted to change it, they took out the buffalo chips, which had absorbed everything, and the baby was never wet. Of course we greased them, so they were not irritated. Later the women had cloth and would take it and made a little pad and put the powdered buffalo chips in it and use it in that way. Babies were never wet. They used the softest part of a buffalo hide for the diapers.

This practice has also been reported for the Arapahos (Trenholm 1970:60). Standing Bear (1978:118) wrote about a talcum-like powder made from buffalo chips that was applied to skin irritations. Bison dung was part of a Cheyenne remedy to draw out snake venom (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). The Plains Apaches applied dried rabbit feces on skin lesions (Schweinfurth 2002:141).

Many species of birds, insects, lizards, and amphibians were widely associated with healing and protection, and as result, amulets were commonly made from them and worn by people or attached to their wands, lances, or spears. Lakota *Heyoka* [Contraries] tied the cones of the kingfisher at the ends of their spears *(*Buechel 1970:186*),* and Cheyenne warriors put the skins of this bird, bats, butterflies, and dragonflies in their hair when they went to war (Grinnell 1972:2:111-112, 120). They also tied stuffed magpies to the headdresses of warriors (Ibid:124), and they attached prairie falcon, short-eared owl, tanager, and oriole feathers on the lances and bows of Contrary warriors (Powell 2002a:69). The Lakotas tied snakeskins around the bows of their Contrary warriors and sometimes used them as a protection against danger (Blish 1934:183; Powers, W. 1986:160).

Some insect species were crushed and mixed with other substances for medicinal applications. Red ants went into medicines to heal wounds when people were shot (Buechel 1970:483; Grinnell 1972:1:134), and butterfly parts comprised a medicinal remedy used by the

Plains Apaches for heart trouble (Schweinfurth 2002:141). Lizards, newts, and salamanders were occasionally killed by the Cheyennes and rubbed on the legs for treating certain types of pain (Grinnell 1972:2:111; Leman 1987:214; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

C. In Manufacturing

The dependence of the Lakotas and Cheyennes on the bison and the nearly exhaustive use of its parts for much of their food and many of their life necessities is widely reported in the literature. Both tribes also relied on other animals for many of the same purposes. Most of the major body parts of mammals, including skins, bones, teeth, hoofs, claws, organs, blood, cartlidge, fat, and even dung were used historically by these two tribes for a wide variety of manufacturing purposes. Other animals, including birds, turtles, mollusks, and crustaceans, also had utilitarian functions as well.

1. Skins, Feathers, and Shells

The skin and fur of a wide variety of ungulates and small herbivorous species went into the manufacture of clothing, shelter, containers, ropes, and a host of other utilitarian objects. Similarly, the feathers of game and land birds and the shells of turtles and mollusks were used for practical purposes .

The intensive labor required to prepare and tan skins was the work of women in Plains tribes, and there are a number of good descriptions of this work in the literature on the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Ewers 1938:50-51; Densmore 1948:172-174; Hoebel 1960:62; Hassrick 1964:182-183; Grinnell 1972:1:213-217; Standing Bear 1974:19-21). Women who excelled at this work kept counts of the number of hides they tanned, and among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, they could become members of guilds dedicated to excellence in the performance of this craft (Hassrick 1964:42-43, 191-194; Grinnell 1972:1:159-169; Schneider 1983). Until the 1820s, most of the labor women performed was for domestic use or for exchanges with neighboring horticultural tribes who traded corn and other agricultural goods in exchange for tanned hides. In later years, when a commercial market developed for bison hide and the skins of other ungulates, much of their work went into supporting this trade. There is considerable disagreement, however, among scholars on how women fared under this trade. Some scholars (Klein 1983), following the observations of people like James Walker (1982:43), claim that men retained control over the hides and were the ones who traded them and benefited from the exchange. Others, however, suggest that the situation was much more complex, not only varying from one tribal nation to another but also within single nations (Foster 1993).

The tanned skin, rawhide, and the detached fur or hair of the bison had the most versatile uses. Many articles of everyday clothing, including dresses, leggings, moccasins, and loin cloths were made from bison skins (Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122), although the Cheyennes and Lakotas generally favored the hides of other ungulates for these purposes. Among the Cheyennes, some of the clothing of elderly women and men was fabricated out of well-smoked tipi-liners (or dew cloths), typically made from the skin of a bison cow (Curtis 1907-30:6:155; Grinnell 1972:1:217). At the other end of the life cycle, clothing for Lakota infants was commonly made out of skins from unborn calves (Standing Bear 1978:4). Entire skins with the hair left on one side were used in the making of robes worn as blankets (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122). Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:151) reported that every man, woman, and child needed one to three robes each year for their personal use. The soles of

moccasins were generally cut from a dried bison hide (Wissler 1910; Ewers 1938:22; Grinnell 1972:1:219).

Probably the most well-known and widely reported use of soft-tanned buffalo hide was the manufacture of tipis and tipi-liners (Curtis 1907-30:3:23, 25, 6:156; Bordeaux 1929:183; Ewers 1938:56; Grinnell 1972:1:226-234; Standing Bear 1975:19-21; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1982: 121-122). Grinnell (1972:1:226) notes that Cheyenne women preferred to make their tipis from the hides of cows that had just shed their winter coats in mid-spring because these were the easiest to dress. Depending on their use and size, one Cheyenne lodge required anywhere from eleven to twenty-one hides (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:226; Moore, J. 1996a:33-40). Robes with the hair left on one side were used in the making of blankets and other bedding for everyday use (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122). This was common practice when warm coverings were needed during the winter months; in the summer months, tanned robes with the hair removed were preferred as blankets and bed covers (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:82; Grinnell 1972:1:87; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122). A wide variety of pouches for storing pipes, gambling stakes, sewing equipment, and paints were fabricated from soft-tanned bison skins too (Wissler 1904; Ewers 1938:51, 53; Grinnell 1972:1:134; Brown 1992:121-122).

Rawhide went into the making of parfleches, the large rectangular envelopes in which dried food and other materials were stored. This hide also provided material for the fabrication of eating bowls, cooking containers, knife sheaths, and quiver cases (Curtis 1907-30:6:158; Wissler 1910:79-82; Ewers 1938:51; Grinnell 1972:1:244-245; Standing Bear 1978:53-54). Boats, mortars, and cradleboards were shaped out of dried hides and various kinds of horse gear were constructed out of this material too (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89; Ewers 1938:33-35; Grinnell 1972:1:210-211; Standing Bear 1978:3; Walker 1982:80; Brown 1992:121-122). Saddles of wood and elk horn were covered with green hide, which was then dried in place, and various kinds of ropes and lariats were plaited with strips of rawhide (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89; Ewers 1938:33-34; Grinnell 1972:1:206-208:2:197; Walker 1982:8). The Lakotas pounded their meat in hollows they dug in the ground and lined with hide from a bison's head (Densmore 1948:174). Finally, both tribes made glue from the shavings scraped off a bison hide when it was thinned (Grinnell 1972: 1:175; Brown 1992:121-122).

Once removed from the hide, bison hair was used to stuff pillows (Grinnell 1972:1:189; Walker 1982:74, 103; Brown 1992:122). It also functioned as a stuffing for dolls, war shields, and game balls. It was attached to war bonnets, belts, and horse gear and used to pad saddles and make paintbrushes (Grinnell 1972:1:175, 189; Walker 1982:72 Brown 1992:121-122). The long hairs from a bull's neck were spun and braided to make lariats and ropes (Walker 1992:74; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89).

The hides of other ungulate species were the ones most desired for making garments, however. The skins of bighorn sheep were much in demand because of their fineness. Lakotas and Cheyennes used them in making dresses and leggings for women and war shirts for men (Curtis 1907-30:6:155; Bordeaux 1929:182; White Bull in Vestal 1934:162; Grinnell 1972:1: 217,221). Elk hides were highly valued for their durability and suppleness (Standing Bear, 1988: 59). After the hair was removed, elk skins were soft tanned by the Lakotas and Cheyennes to make moccasins, breechclouts, shirts, belts, leggings, and gowns for everyday wear as well as garments worn on ceremonial occasions (Walker 1982:101, 103, 104; Lyford 1940:33; Grinnell 1972:1:274). Pronghorn skins were typically soft-tanned and used in making women's dresses and leggings, men's breechclouts and war shirts, and the upper parts of moccasins (Grinnell

1972:1:217, 221; Walker 1980:101).[17] Finally, deerskins were soft-tanned after the hair was removed, and they were used to fabricate women's dresses and leggings, moccasins, and men's ceremonial clothing in both tribes. (Curtis 1907-1930:3:15, 27-29, 87, 94, 137, 5:155-156; Lyford 1940:33; Walker 1982:52, 101). The rawhide of mule deer and elk went into making Lakota drumheads (Brown 1992:16; Young Bear and Thiesz 1995:47).

Deerskins also went into the making of receptacles for holding various objects and belongings, and they were used for saddle skirts and shield covers (Walker 1982:101, 103, 104; Lyford 1940:33; Grinnell 1972:1:58, 189, 217, 221). The Cheyennes covered the shafts of their lances and the handholds of bighorn sheep bows with deer hide, and both tribes used antelope skin to make their shield covers (Grinnell 1972:1:175, 187, 189-190, 223; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101).

Rabbit fur was commonly used as a decorative ornamentation on clothing among the Lakotas (Lyford 1940:3), and so was beaver fur among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:296). Elderly Lakota women tanned squirrel skins, and when they acquired enough, they sewed them together to make robes to sit on (Hassrick 1964:168). Additional uses for the skin and fur of these and other small herbivores may have existed, but these have not been recorded in the ethnographic sources studied for this report.

The skins of carnivores were rarely used in utilitarian ways, except in association with men's work in warfare and hunting. The Lakotas and Cheyennes, for example, valued the skins of wildcats, coyotes, and otters for making quivers (Curtis 1907-30:3:29, 105, 137; Lyford 1940:33; Hassrick 1964:199; Grinnell 1972:I:184, 196, 222; Standing Bear 1988:23,60).

The most common historical and practical use of bird feathers was for fletching arrows. Vulture and turkey feathers were considered the best for this purpose because they were not damaged by blood (Densmore 1918:438-439; Grinnell 1972:1:181, 187; Brown 1992:18). Standing Bear (1988:19) wrote that the Lakotas considered turkey feathers among the best for making arrows, but since these were hard to acquire, only adult warriors and hunters used them. He also indicated that grouse and crow feathers were good for fletching arrows (Standing Bear 1988:19). While the Lakotas used hawk feathers in their hunting arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439; Standing Bear 1988:19; Brown 1992:18), the Cheyennes put them only on their ceremonial arrows. They were not attached to Cheyenne hunting and war arrows because it was believed they were easily damaged by blood (Grinnell 1972:1:181). The small feathers of eagles were also used in making arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439; Stars in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978: 346, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:592-593]), an application also practiced by the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:306).

Turtle shells were fashioned into bowls by the Cheyennes and Lakotas and sometimes spoons too (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:171; Standing Bear 1975:15). The Lakotas also made paint pots from them (Standing Bear 1975:21). The shells of various freshwater mollusks were used for spoons, paint pots, incense containers, scrapers, and ornamentation (Densmore 1918:399, 1948:172, 195, 200; Grinnell 1972:1:221; Wedel and Frison 2001:52), while the claws of crayfish were used as ornaments on clothing (Buechel 1970:334).

[17] In the late nineteenth century, Lakotas often acquired their pronghorn skins from non-Indian hunters, like Matthew Bingham (the brother of the first white men to come across Wind Cave), who lived in town of Hot Springs (Jones 1904; Bingham 1973:3-7; Bingham in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:33).

2. Teeth, Bone, and Quills

Some of the most highly prized animal parts were the elk's two ivory canines. These symbolized longevity, and as Shooter, a Lakota, told Francis Densmore (1992:176):

> In observing the carcass of an elk it is found that the teeth remain after everything else has crumbled to dust. These teeth will last longer than the life of a man, and for that reason the elk tooth has become the emblem of long life. We desire long life for ourselves and our friends. When a child is born its parents desire long life for it, and for this reason an elk tooth is given to a child if its parents can afford the gift.

Elk teeth often decorated the deer or antelope skin bodices of Lakota and Cheyenne women's dresses (Curtis 1907-30:6:156; Grinnell 1972:1:221, 223; Standing Bear 1978:102, 188; Walker 1982:52). The Cheyenne fringed their leggings with them, and made necklaces out of them. So valuable were elk teeth that the Cheyennes were willing to trade a good horse for one hundred of them. Deer teeth also went into the making of Cheyenne necklaces (Grinnell 1972:1:221, 223, 224).

Needles, awls, and scrapers were fabricated from bison bones (Brown 1992:121). Runners for sleds, toys, and game parts were made from ribs and jawbones (Vestal 1934:7; Grinnell 1972:1:314; Standing Bear 1978:53-54). Knives, arrow straightners, and arrowpoints were carved from shoulder blades or the dorsal spine (Curtis 1907-30:6:158; Densmore 1918:443; Grinnell 1972:1:185,213-214). Finally, the Cheyennes fashioned a specialized tool to abrade hides from the proximal end of a bison humerus (Grinnell 1972:1:185, 213-214).

Other animal bones were also employed to make many different tools and objects. Straight pipes were fashioned from the shank bones of deer and antelope (Grinnell 1972:2:208). These were used in calling buffalo, based on a tradition the Cheyennes learned from their culture hero, Sweet Medicine, when he returned from his journey to their Sacred Mountain, Bear Butte (Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:38). The Lakotas made dice the metatarsal bones of deer, and they used phalangeal bones in their cup and pin game (Densmore 1948: 191; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:325). The Cheyennes embellished the sheepskin shirts of leading men with these bones (Curtis 1907-30:6:156). Finally, the pizzle bone of a badger was made into an awl that was highly valued by the Lakotas (Fire and Erdoes 1972:133).

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes made combs and hairbrushes from the tail of a porcupine (Grinnell 1972:1:211, 2:255, 310; Standing Bear 1978:34, 188; Walker 1982:52), and they used the animal's hair to make head roaches (Standing Bear 1978:34). The most important part of this animal were its quills. These were used in embellishing a wide range of material objects. Among the Lakotas, they included: moccasins, cradleboard covers, war shirts, armlets, hair ornaments, buffalo robes, moccasins, saddle bags and blankets, navel amulets, pipe bags, pipe stems, bladder cases, knife cases, and gauntlets (Wissler 1904:234-235, 242-245, 250-251, 1910:235, 238,242, 244, 252, 260, 265; Ewers 1938:61; Lyford 1940:14,21, 27, 29, 41-55; Standing Bear 1975:16-17; 1978:3). The Cheyennes ornamented dresses, war shirts, hair wrappings, robes, baby cradles, moccasins, saddles, lodges, backrests, flutes, buckskin bags, and pipe stems with quills (Grinnell 1972:1: 56, 60, 99, 147, 161, 168, 204-205, 207, 224, 243, 245, 346). The preparation of quills for embroidery or wrapping is described in detail in Carrie Lyford's work (1940:41-55), but there are other good descriptions too (Ewers 1938:59-61; Hassrick 1964:191-193; Grinnell 1972:1:164, 166-167, 218-220).

Cheyenne women formed a quilling society, the *Me e no'ist st*, which included only the most prolific and talented quillers. The society was divided into grades, reflecting the quillers' levels of accomplishment. George Grinnell (1972:1:159-169) describes this society in great detail, and the prestige accorded its members. Women of the Lakota's *Wipata Okolakiciye* [Quill Society] also derived great prestige for their talents and accomplishments in quilling (Powers, M. 1987:73-74). These women held quilling displays and contests where they exhibited their creations and competed with each other on the skill, productivity, and artistic excellence of their work (Sundstrom. L. 2002:102-111). They kept counts of their accomplishments on robes and on the dew cloth of the Red Council Lodge (Wissler 1910:92-94; Hassrick 1964:42-43, 272; Sundstrom, L. 2002). According to Royal B. Hassrick (1964:191), "quilling was probably the highest attainment in the female arts" and a primary area of female artistic contribution.

Bird bones were also used for a number of utilitarian purposes, but most of the uses were ceremonial. The Lakotas reportedly made the wing bones of the eagle into awls for sewing the buffalo hides that went into the construction of tipis (Standing Bear 1975:21), and the Cheyennes constructed war whistles out of the wing bones of sandhill cranes (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 110).

3. Horns, Hoofs, and Claws

The horns and hoofs of ungulates were prized for many different purposes. Bison horns were made into dishes, spoons, ladles, scrapers, and a wide variety of other utensils and tools (Curtis 1907-1930:3:138; Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:64, 211; Standing Bear 1978:53-54; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:12). They also went into the manufacture of bows and arrow straighteners (Curtis 1907-30:6:156; Ewers 1938:37; Grinnell 1972:1:173, 179; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973: 27). Spoons and ladles were also fabricated from the horns of the bighorn (Hoebel 1960: 62; Grinnell 1972:1:211; Standing Bear 1975:22).

The Cheyennes and the Lakotas preferred to use elkhorn for making fleshers to scrape hides (Grinnell 1972:1:213; Standing Bear 1975:19). Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:25), a Cheyenne woman, tells how valuable these were among her people:

> This hide-scraper I have is made from the horn of an elk my husband killed just after we were married. He cut off the smaller prongs and polished the main shaft. The Indian men of the old times commonly made this kind of present to their young wives. Besides using them in tanning, the women made marks on them to keep track of the ages of their children. The five rows of notches on this one are the age-records of my five children. Each year I have added a notch to each row, for the living ones. Any time, I can count up the notches and know the age of any of my children. Throughout the seventy-four years it has always been a part of my most precious pack. There were times when I had not much else. I was carrying it in my hands when my husband was killed on the upper Powder River. It was tied to my saddle while we were in flight from Oklahoma. It was in my little pack when we broke out from the Fort Robinson prison. It has never been lost. Different white people have offered me money for it. I am very poor, but such money does not tempt me. When I die, this gift from my husband will be buried with me.

The Cheyennes also used elkhorn to knap flint, and they made fleshers out of the hind legs of elks and bears (Curtis 1907-30:6:158) They sometimes made bows from elkhorn as well (Grinnell 1972:1:173-174; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27). The Lakotas fashioned the porous portion of an elkhorn into implements for applying their paints (Walker 1982:100).

Among the Lakotas, deer hoofs were worn as ornamentation in armlets and necklaces (Brown 1992:16), and they served as cuplike utensils to hold paint (Walker 1982:100). In both tribes,

bison hoofs were used as hatchets for butchering (Densmore 1918:443), they were boiled to make glue (Standing Bear 1978:53-54), they were employed in arrowmaking (Grinnell 1972:1:183), and they were made into pendants, rattles, and decorative cylinders (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Brown 1992:122).

4. Organs, Fat, Blood, and Cartilage

Various organs from mammals were used for making bags and containers. Among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the paunch or stomach of a buffalo was washed, cleaned, and suspended on sticks over a fire to serve as a receptacle for boiling water and cooking meat (Curtis 1907-30:3:138, 6:156; Hassrick 1964:189; Grinnell 1972:1:170, 212; Standing Bear 1975:21; Brown 1992:122; Black Elk in DeMallie 1994:335, 386). The Cheyennes also made temporary cups from the paunch (Grinnell 1972:1:170). Bladder bags held water, quills, tobacco, and paint (Ewers 1938:60; Grinnell 1972:1:212-213; Walker 1982:100; Brown 1992:122). The heart lining or pericardium served as a water container for Cheyenne children and infants, and it also went into the making of cases to hold porcupine quills (Grinnell 1972:1:213, 219). The Lakotas employed the pericardium for similar purposes (Brown 1992:123) and for storing tallow (Stars in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:347-348, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:594-595]). The Cheyennes fashioned dried bison aorta into pipes (Curtis 1907-30:6:108). Another organ used by the Cheyenne was the tongue: the rough skin at its tip was once made into a comb (Grinnell 1972:1:211). Finally, the brains and liver of bison and also deer were mixed together and applied to skins and robes as a tanning solution (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:216; High Dog in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:332-334, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:568-571]; Standing Bear 1975:19).

The ligament, fat, and blood of animals had many diverse uses as well. The sinew from a bison's hind legs was dried and cut into small arrow points, and the sinew from the neck went into the construction and reinforcement of handles for needles, knives, and pipes (Densmore 1918:436; Grinnell 1972:1:208). Sinew from the bison's dorsal spine was made into sewing thread, bowstrings, rope, and cordage (Curtis 1907-30:6:158; Bordeaux 1929:183-184; Lyford 1940:38; Grinnell 1972:1:218; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:122). Deer sinew was used in arrowmaking and for sewing (Densmore 1918:438; Standing Bear 1988:23; Brown 1992:16). Bison fat was the common medium for mixing paint pigments (Walker 1982:100), and the blood of this animal was applied to arrows and mixed with paints. Fat was also employed in sealing pipes and in making glue (Densmore 1918:103, 439; Grinnell 1972:1:19; Brown 1992:123).

5. Dung

Finally, dried bison dung, or "buffalo chips," had important practical functions. Buffalo chips, according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:91), "in their natural chunks make good wood." They were used as a popular and widely accessible form of fuel, and when pulverized, as a form of tinder (Densmore1918:436; Wooden leg in Marquis 1931:91; Brown 1992:123; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

TABLE 4. Animals Historically Located at Wind Cave National Park Whose Body Parts are Used in Practical Manufacturing Among the Cheyennes and Lakotas

Ungulates
Bighorn, Bison
Elk
Mule Deer, Whitetail Deer
Pronghorn

Carnivores
Badger
Bear
Coyote
Mountain Lion
Skunk
Wolf

Small Herbivores
Beaver
Mice
Porcupine
Prairie Dog
Squirrel
Rabbit

Birds and Insects
Duck, Geese
Eagle, Falcon, Hawk, Vulture
Grouse, Turkey
Crane

Reptiles, Fish, and Crustaceans
Crayfish, Mollusk
Fish
Turtle

D. Symbolic and Ceremonial Uses

The body parts of many different animals were found in a wide range of Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonies, and they functioned in these contexts in complex, symbolic ways. Animals were also represented on dancers, ceremonial tipis, and other sacred objects, and references to some of this imagery and the ceremonies themselves are discussed in more detail in Appendix A.

1. Skins and Feathers

For most of the tribal nations in the Great Plains, animal skins and furs symbolized shelter, warmth, and protection. In wearing animal skins, Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:17) said: "The Oglala preferred to cut the hides as little as possible, as if they wished to retain their integrity, and thus the power, of the whole living animal." In a similar vein, Karl Schlesier (1987:12) wrote:

> The Cheyenne dressed as animals because their clothing consisted of skins and furs. They fashioned themselves after animals of their choosing or rather the animals who had chosen them. The person who selected wolves became a wolf without changing physical form. He or she dreamed wolf dreams, possessed wolf skills and power, acted like a wolf, immersed himself or herself in wolf lore, protected wolves, painted himself or herself as a wolf, was taught by wolves, and wore wolf on his or her body and in a bundle. Here the border between the wolf and the human had been cracked in the physical world, but in the spirit world, *matasoomhestanov*, the two had become the same.

While the skins or feathers of animals were widely worn to emulate the species they came from, there were special restrictions for handling many of them. The skins and furs of carnivores and white buffalo were subject to restrictions. Similarly, the feathers of raptors and other powerful birds were handled with special care and only used in certain contexts. At the outset, a few words need to be said about the special ways some skins and feathers were handled.

a.Restrictions on the Handling of Skins and Feathers

James Howard (1979:31) writes that albino animals were highly regarded and thought of as 'chiefs' of their species. Accordingly, the white buffalo skin, a rarity, highly venerated by the Lakotas and Cheyennes, could not be touched by the hunter but had to be handled ceremoniously by qualified men who had a spiritual partnership with bison (Densmore 1918:446; Grinnell 1972:2:202-204). According to Francis Densmore (1918:446), "The skin was not treated like an ordinary buffalo hide." The animal had to be skinned in a special way to prevent the spilling of blood, and only women with certain qualifications were allowed to dress it (Densmore 1918:446). This was also true for the Cheyennes, whose women had to undertake a special cere-mony in order to prepare a white buffalo hide (Grinnell 1972:2: 202-204). The Lakotas kept the robes of this animal in special rawhide cases (Densmore 1918: 446), and they displayed them on certain ceremonial occasions such as the place of honor in a spirit keeping lodge or the altar of an adoption ceremony. Edward S. Curtis (1907-30 3:110) wrote that at the close of a spirit keeping ceremony, the white buffalo skin was carried to the north or west and buried in a cave or hole as an offering to *Wakan Tanka*. The Cheyennes hung them up as offerings to *Ma'heo* and the *Maiyun* (Grinnell 1972:1:272, 2:201). In later years, according to Grinnell (Ibid:1:273), these hides were not treated with the same respect, sold to white traders, and tanned by captive women.

The skins of many carnivores were also treated in special ways. The Cheyennes would not allow women to handle wolf hides in earlier times, but in more recent times, women underwent a

special ceremony that enabled them to tan them without getting palsy (Grinnell 1972:1:105, 2:198-200). The Lakotas insisted that only virgins tan wolf hides for ceremonial purposes (Walker 1982:95), and they also prohibited menstruating women from tanning bear hides less they get hairy or acquire scabs and black splotches on their faces and hands. It was only after menopause that women took on this task (Hassrick 1964:249; Tyon in Walker 1980:159). Similarly, Cheyenne women were prohibited from dressing the hide of a bear. It was believed that the soles of a woman's feet would crack or her face would become hairy should she engage in such activity. This task was done either by men or women from other tribes (Grinnell 1972:1:198, 2:105).

Many restrictions surrounded the handling of some of the mustelid species. Although there is some debate whether or not otters ever existed in the Black Hills, they certainly lived in the larger rivers fed by this mountain range. Regardless, they were highly sacred and important to the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Indeed, otter skins were so powerful that Lakota women who touched them while they were menstruating were said to become ill and even die (Tyon in Walker 1980: 168). The Cheyennes had no prohibitions against women preparing otter skins, although they did prevent them from processing the peltries of a rodent species, the beaver (Grinnell 1972:2:104, 198). There appears to have been no prohibitions among the Lakotas on women handling beaver skins, however. By contrast, the skins of ermines, weasels, and other mustelids had to be handled and worn with great care among the Lakotas. Men could not handle them after being with a woman, and women were not allowed to touch them while menstruating; if they did, they would suffer pain or serious illness (Tyon in Walker 1980:168-169).

The feathers of eagles and other sacred birds were handled with great care, and generally, only certain people were allowed to touch or use them. Among the Lakotas, only men who achieved distinction in battle were permitted to wear eagle feathers (Curtis 1907-30:3:23, 30; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:389-390). Individuals with an exceptional record of war deeds wore a warbonnet made with these feathers (Walker 1982:103). Women carried or wore eagle feathers in two sets of circumstances. First, they were allowed to use the feathers of kinsmen who died in war. There was a special society of Lakota women whose male relatives had been lost in battle. In addition to the plume of an eagle, which these women wore upright at the back of their head as a badge of their status, they also wore the feathers their deceased kinsmen would have been entitled to wear (Walker 1982:63, 106). Secondly, women for whom a *Pte San Lowanpi* ceremony had been conducted were wore eagle plumes in their hair (Standing Bear 1988:88). Among the Cheyennes, according to John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:52-53), eagle feathers were the insignia of chiefs, and they were worn only by leaders and noted warriors. By the mid-twentieth century, he noted that everyone, even women, took to wearing them for dances and parades. His remark suggests that in earlier times restrictions were placed on a woman's use of these feathers.

b. The Contexts of Their Use

Except for ordinary land birds and insects as well as some of the smallest herbivores, virtually every species of animal was represented in the regalia and equipment the Lakotas and Cheyennes used in their ceremonies.

As in the world of everyday manufacture, the rawhide, tanned skins, and hair of the bison were ubiquitous in Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonialism. George Dorsey (1905:12) wrote that the Cheyennes made a point of fabricating every article that went into the renewal of their Sacred Arrows with material drawn from the bison, including hides, glue, sinew, blood, and so on. In the Cheyenne Sun Dance, the lodge maker priests and the pledgers carried bison robes (Dorsey, G.

1905:93; Hoebel 1960:15). Valuable robes donated by warriors covered the roof of their Sun Dance lodge (Hoebel 1960:14). The Cheyennes also used bison hair during the Sun Dance to wrap their pipe bowls, stems, and tampers (Dorsey, G. 1905:74; Grinnell 1972:2:240-241). In their Animal Dance [*Mussuam*] tufts of bison hair were tied to the sacred wheel and used symbolically in other parts of the ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:314- 315, 318-319).

The Lakotas used bison skin and hair in their Sun Dance performances (Curtis 1907-30:3:95; Densmore 1918:118, 123, 125; Sword in Deloria 1929: 390-392; Walker 1980:97-98; 179, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192; Brown 1992:121, 123). Bison hair and skins were also handled in various symbolic ways in the *Hunka* (Curtis 1907-30:3:72, 73, 86; Densmore 1918:77) and in the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Densmore 1918: 97-98; Walker 1980:179-180, 189, 246, 249, 1982:106; Brown 1992:122). Bison hair, which signified the "breath of life," was wrapped around the umbilical cords of boys before these were inserted into their protective, lizard-shaped pouches (Standing Bear 1978:154), and it was stuffed into the balls used in the "Throwing the Ball Ceremony" (Curtis 1907-30:3:138; Brown 1992: 122).

Beyond the Sun Dance and other important ceremonies, there were also other formal and ceremonial uses for bison skins. The Lakotas painted their winter-counts and war deeds on soft-tanned skins (Walker 1982:100-101; Brown 1992:121-122). These skins were hung on poles with scalp locks as war banners (Brown 1992:123). After a successful raid, Cheyenne warparties painted battle images on these skins, and displayed them as they made a victorious entry into their villages (Grinnell 1972:2:18-19). The Cheyennes kept their Sacred Hat in a bag made of bison skin (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:75), and their Contraries kept their lances wrapped in bison hides (Grinnell 1972:2:81).

The Lakotas also wore robes with the fur still attached for special occasions, such as the courtship trysts of young couples (Walker 1982:51) or for ceremonial events, such as the *Hunka*, where female children wore robes made from the skin of a buffalo calf (Curtis 1907-30:3:76, 78, 80; Densmore 1918:77). Many of these robes were embellished with elaborately painted or quilled designs to signify the prestige and honor of the wearer and worn on public occasions (Ewers 1938:22, 58; Hassrick 1964:191-193), something the Cheyenne did as well (Grinnell 1972:1:159-160). Finally, they were used as coverings and wrappings for the deceased (Curtis 1907-30:3:100-102; Brown 1992:121-122)

The soft-tanned skins of cervids appeared in many different ceremonial contexts. Lakota men wore deerskin aprons, *nite'iyapehe*, when they participated in the Sun Dance, and they wore balls of sweetgrass wrapped in a deerskin and tied to end of their braids at marriage (Curtis 1907-1930:3:19, 28-29, 95, 139; Densmore 1918:125; Sword in Deloria 1929:391;Walker 1982:52, 101). Soft-tanned deerskins were also used in mortuary practice, and they were fashioned into a special wrapping, *wi'caske*, to hold a spirit bundle and into a decorated case, *pan*, which held the gifts to be given away at a spirit-keeping ceremony (Curtis 1907-30:3:100, 102, 105; Densmore 1918:79). They also provided material for the lodge coverings and regalia of some of the warrior societies (Wissler 1912:46,72). Cheyenne warriors wore deerskins and tails, enabling them to outrun their enemies (Grinnell 1972:1:124). The skins were also displayed in the Sun Dance because the Cheyennes believed that this animal belonged to the ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:232).

Rabbit skins were widely worn in ceremonial contexts. Strips of jackrabbit fur were tied to the robe of the Cheyenne Sun Dance leader (Grinnell 1972:2:218, 232, 263; Powell 1969:2:859), and they were wrapped around the hoops used in their antelope hunting ceremonies (Grinnell 1972:1:284). In the Lakota Sun Dance, bands of this animal's fur were tied around the wrists and ankles of the dancers as a symbol of humility (Densmore 1918:125; Black Elk in Brown 1971:

85). The Lakota *Wic'iska* [White Marked] Society wore a headdress with strips of rabbit fur, and the sash bearers of the *Miwatani* [Mandan] Society adorned their sashes with rabbit ears (Wissler 1912:34, 46).

The skins of most carnivores were restricted to use in military and ceremonial settings and most of them could only be handled and worn by men. Elaborately painted canine skins were an important part of the Cheyenne's *Massaum* or Animal Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:296-309; 323-334; Schlesier 1987:96-103). Canine skins also played an important role in the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:231, 249, 250, 344). In this ceremony, fox and wolf skins were worn to imitate the roles these animals played in the story of the Great Race (Grinnell 1972:2:300-301, 323-334). Most of the other ceremonial contexts for the use of canine skins by the Cheyennes were associated with the performances and activities of warriors and the military societies to which they belonged (Dorsey, G. 1905:19, 25, 55, 56-57; Grinnell 1972:1:300, 2:24, 72).

In contrast to the Cheyennes, the skins of canines do not appear to have been worn or displayed at most of the Lakotas' major religious ceremonies, and this may reflect some of their ambivalent attitudes towards these animals. Canine skins were worn by the Lakotas but primarily in military contexts, especially in the rituals of their soldier societies. Lakota men who dreamed of wolves had the right to carry or wear their skins and act as scouts on war parties (Wissler 1912: 15, 16, 35, 38, 54, 72, 90-91; Walker 1980:268-269, 1982:95; Brown 1992:17). Indeed, among the Lakotas, some skins, such as those of bears and wolves, could only be worn and carried by people who dreamed of these animals (Wissler 1912:90-91; Tyon in Walker 1980:159, Walker 1982:95; Powers, W. 1977:58).

The otter was a sacred animal to the Lakotas (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101), and its pelts adorned many different kinds of sacred implements and regalia. Sun Dancers wore otter skin capes that signified the power of water and land (Tyon in Walker 1980; 177; Bad Heart Bull and Blish 1967:183), and so did the members of various military socities (Wissler 1912:24, 26, 34-35, 47, 72, 76; Walker 1980:182, 272, 274 277, 280; Brown 1992:17). Among the Cheyennes, otter skins covered some of the vikuts that Cheyenne warriors used for carrying water (Grinnell 1972:2:24), and the *hohktsim'* or wheel lance shaft was decorated with this fur as well (Grinnell 1972:1:187).

Among the Lakotas, weasel skins were worn by spiritual intercessors, such as the *walowan* or singer, who conducted a *Hunka* or the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Walker 1980:223, 246). They also adorned the regalia of the sash bearers of the *Miwatani* Society (Wissler 1912:46). Outside of religious and formal contexts, ermine, mink, and weasel skins were sometimes cut into strips as decoration for men's shirts, dresses, and headdresses (Lyford 1940:33; Brown 1992:18), but these had to be handled with great care because of the dangers they posed to the wearer and others (Tyon Walker 1980:168). Cheyenne Dog Soldiers wore the skins of another mustelid species, the skunk, with heads intact, and the tails of this animal were tied to horses going into battle (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Dorsey, G. 1905:21).

Feathers were widely taken by the Cheyennes and Lakotas for ceremonial purposes. For both tribes, there was a complex language of feathers, in which the wearing or use of specific feathers designated war achievements, religious roles, and other positions of distinction. Feathers also adorned many different sacred items, and they were associated with all of the most important tribal ceremonies (Standing Bear 1975:85-88; Moore, J. 1986:188). Eagle feathers and plumes, which symbolized the "breath of life" for Cheyennes and Lakotas, were clearly the most revered and widely used (Powell 1969:2:796, 806, 833, 834, 344; Brown 1992:43). They were associated symbolically with the valorous accomplishments of their wearers particularly in warfare (Brown

1992:43). Luther Standing Bear (1975:85-88; 1988:84-88), James Walker (1980:232, 263, 270-272, 273, 274, 275-276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 1982:103-105), and Royal B. Hassrick (1964:90) describe in some detail how the number and positioning of eagle feathers worn on the head marked different kinds of honors among the Lakotas. The Cheyennes placed a high value on the feathers of the golden eagle too (Grinnell 1972:2:107). Historically, they traded them to other tribes (Ibid:1:299). The straight quills from the tail were especially valued in adornment and commonly worn by older men who tied them to their hair at the base of the scalp lock (Ibid: 1:222, 299). The Cheyennes gifted warbonnets at marriage, consecrated and carried them into battle, and displayed them at the funeral rites of a warrior (Ibid:1:138, 2:10, 27, 121, 161).

The feathers of owls, turkeys, woodpeckers, crows, magpies, tanagers, and hawks were not only worn by members of various Lakota and Cheyenne military associations, but they adorned their pipes, clubs, shields, lances, vikuts, and other war paraphernalia. Hawk feathers decorated the lances of the Lakota *Cante Tinza* [Brave Hearts], and they adorned the war regalia of other societies too (Wissler 1912:72). Owl feathers were worn in the headdresses of the Lakota *Wic'iska*, and they served as insignia for the *Miwatani* (Dorsey, J. 1894:463; Curtis 1907-30:3:139; Wissler 1912:35, 41-42, 58, 71; Walker 1980:273; Standing Bear 1988:72). The Cheyennes attached turkey feathers to lances used in ceremonies or in battle to count coup, they ornamented war clubs with redheaded woodpecker feathers, and they tied the heads and feathers of sandhill cranes to their shields (Grinnell 1972:1:187, 2:195). Crow feathers were the ones most widely used by Lakotas in connection with war and warriors (Wissler 1912:15, 46, 58, 72; Buechel 1970:283; Walker 1980:262, 266; Walker 1982:95), and the same holds true for the Cheyennes, who also used magpie feathers for these purposes (Dorsey, G. 1905:25; Grinnell 1972:2:105; Moore, J. 1986: 183).

Feathers appeared in a wide range of ceremonial contexts. In their antelope hunting ceremony, the Cheyennes used a pole-like implement called an antelope arrow to which crow and magpie feathers were attached, and they also tied these feathers to the seams of the ceremonial rattles that were a part of this ritual too (Grinnell 1972:1:203, 284). Among the Lakotas, eagle feathers and plumes as well as the feathers of woodpeckers and mallard ducks were attached to ceremonial equipment in the *Hunka* and the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Curtis 1907-30:3:74, 75, 78, 81, 82, 87, 94, 95; Densmore 1918:70, 71, 72, 74; Walker 1980:187, 190, 191, 202, 213, 217-218, 230-231, 234, 244, 245, 251-252, 1982:106).

The eagle is one of the birds that belongs to the Sun Dance, and so its feathers are widely used in this ceremony, not only to adorn the dancers and intercessors but also the pipe and other sacred objects associated with it (Densmore 1918:104, 125-126; Powell 1969:2:796, 806, 833, 834; Grinnell 1972:2:215, 232, 233, 234, 243-244, 262, 265, 267, 268). Two woodpeckers are also associated with the ceremony. The feathers, skin, and body of the redheaded woodpecker and the northern flicker appear in the performance of the dance in both tribes (Dorsey, G. 1905:95; Sword in Deloria 1929: 392, 396, 397; Grinnell 1972:2:109, 232-233, 265, 268; Brown 1992:45).

2. Skulls, Bones, and Quills

The skulls of animals have considerable spiritual significance and are found widely in ceremonial contexts. The Lakotas and Cheyennes believe that skulls hold the "spiritual potency" of the animals from which they come. Historically, the Lakotas believed that bison skulls were sacred dwellings for *Tatanka*, the principle spiritual representative of the buffalo (Walker 1980:216, 224). Takes the Gun told Walker (1980:214) that in the *Hunka* ceremony:

> …the spirit of the buffalo comes to its skull. *The* spirit of *Tatanka* is pleased to see the skull of a buffalo. The buffalo skull is at the ceremony because *Tatanka* is pleased.

Indeed, in most Lakota ceremonies for hunting, healing, celebrating a girl's passage into womanhood, and honoring an adoption, bison skulls were painted and their orifices filled with sage as an act of propitiation and respect for the spirit of the buffalo (Curtis 1907-30:3:75, 78, 82, 84, 86, 87, 94, 95, 98; Densmore 1918:72, 99, 122, 275; Sword in Deloria 1929: 395, 399,401 Walker 1980:179, 216, 224, 227-228, 238, 245, 247-248, 251, 255, 1982:74, 75-76). Similarly, the Cheyenne held the skull of the buffalo in high regard and filled its orifices with sage, sedge, and other sacred plants at their Sun Dances and Animal Dances (Dorsey, G. 1905:91, 97; Hoebel 1960:13, 16; Grinnell 1972:1:82-83, 2:125, 223, 231, 235, 270, 291, 300-306; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:97; Schlesier 1987:6). John Moore (1996a:67) also mentions that the Cheyennes collected ancient skulls of *bison antiquus* and *bison occidentalis* that were found near prehistoric jumps because the horns are "more impressive than those of the living bison." Given the importance of bison skulls in historic and modern ceremonial practice, it is not surprising that modern tribal members have requested these from the park (Terry 1999, Personal Communication).

The wing bones from eagles were made into Sun Dance whistles. Commonly believed to symbolize the Thunders, these whistles were also used in war and for certain kinds of healing (Curtis 1907-30:3:54, 91, 95, 97; Dorsey, G. 1905:124; Densmore 1918:161; Blish 1934:185; Walker 1982:95, 98; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:42).

The only information on any special ceremonial use for quills was found on the Lakotas. Sun dancers wore an eagle feather wrapped with red dyed porcupine quills (Walker 1980:179), and invitation wands for their *Hunka* ceremonies were made of eagle feathers decorated with dyed porcupine quills (Walker 1980:221).

3. Hoofs, Horns, and Claws

Just as the skeletal remains of an animal were believed to hold its spiritual strength and potency, so hoofs, horns, and claws were believed to be the repositories of an animal's spiritual essence (Walker 1982:103). The Cheyennes had a military society called the *Himoweyuhkis*, Elk-Scrapers, whose members carried a piece of elk horn carved in the image of a snake (Grinnell 1972:2:57-62). This horn could create a sound capable of being transmitted over long distances, and it was used to attract game to camp when food was needed. The members of this society also carried rattles made of the dewclaws from elk, deer, and antelope (Dorsey, G. 1905:18-19). The Cheyennes attached bear and wolf claws to their war shields (Grinnell 1972:1:188, 193, 194, 198-199, 290, 2:74; Moore, J. 1974a:176), and tied them on the head of the yellow-painted dancer in their Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:280). Finally, the Cheyennes valued fossilized horns, tusks, and teeth from prehistoric animals, which were often kept in their medicine bags and used in ceremonial contexts (Moore, J. 1996a:67).

Among the Lakotas, the horns and hoofs of bison were worn on the headdresses of officiates who conducted the *Hunka* and *Pte San Lowanpi* ceremonies (Walker 1980:223, 246). Deer hoofs were made into rattles for *Miwatani* members (Curtis 1907-30:3:172; Wissler 1912:48), and they served as ornamentation on armlets and necklaces worn for various ritual occasions (Brown 1992:16). The Lakotas used bear claws in association with rituals surrounding warfare and in other ceremonial contexts as well (Densmore 1918:267; Powers, W. 1977:58; Walker 1980:159; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 167, 178-179, 230, 278).

4, Fat, Cartilage, Organs, and Blood

The Lakotas place fat from the heart of a buffalo in the hole where their Sun Dance tree is placed, and it is used to seal the pipe smoked in this ceremony (Sword in Deloria 1929: 398; Black Elk in Brown 1971:88; Brown 1992:123). Eagle fat is mixed with paints applied to dancers and sacred objects at the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:262).

The Cheyennes roll bison sinew and cover it with red cloth in their Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:240-241, 292). They also attach a buffalo windpipe to the headdress of the lodgemaker at this ceremony (Dorsey, G. 1905:95), while the Lakotas make offerings of bison larynges in their spirit keeping rites (Curtis 1905-1930:3:106, 109, 110). The scrotum of a bison bull is dried and made into rattles for various ceremonial performances in both tribes (Curtis 1905-1930:3:78, 79, 86; Grinnell 1972:1:203; Walker 1980:213, 1982:74; Brown 1992:213). Historically, bear guts, which have an iridescent quality, were cut into strips to tie eagle feathers on the lower end of bows owned by members of the Lakota's Sacred Bow Society (Blish 1934:183; Brown 1992:18), and among the Cheyennes, they were tied to the bows carried by the Contraries (Grinnell 1972: 1:81).

5. Dung

Among the Lakotas, buffalo chips were widely used in ceremonial contexts whenever a pipe was being smoked. At ceremonial altars, pipes were customarily placed on a buffalo chip in conjunction with vision seeking, during communal bison hunts, at the final ceremony in a spirit-keeping lodge, in the *Hunka* Ceremony, and during the Sun Dance (Curtis 1905-1930:3:66; Densmore 1918:72, 79, 83, 441; Sword in Deloria 1929:392-393; Walker 1980:36-37, 76,77, 103, 180; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 145). Dried and pulverized buffalo dung was also mixed with tobacco to help light a pipe, and it was burned ceremoniously as incense (Curtis 1907-30:3:186; Brown 1992:123).

Bison dung appears in a wide range of Cheyenne ceremonial contexts. In healing rites, pipes rest on a piece of buffalo chip (Grinnell 1972:2:137). At the Sun Dance, pieces of dried dung are positioned at the points of the sacred root-digger and arrow as well as near the skull that contains the spiritual essence of Grandmother Earth (Grinnell 1972:2:238, 245). During the *Massaum*, a piece of buffalo dung is wrapped in red flannel and placed on the altar next to the sacred skull. Buffalo chips are used in other parts of this ceremony too (Grinnell 1972:2: 292, 295, 323, 333). Dried buffalo dung played a part in the ritual preparations for driving antelope into pits (Grinnell 1972:1:280). In former times, a mound of buffalo chips was placed outside the ceremonial lodge of the Fox Soldiers who ritually surrounded it each morning (Grinnell 1972:2:57). Finally, war parties burnt buffalo chips to celebrate a victory and to purify enemy scalps taken in battle (Grinnell 1972:2:32, 37). At least among the Cheyennes, bison dung is symbolically significant because it changes color from bright green to white under the rays of the sun, a process that mimics the seasonal transitions (Moore, J. 1974a:171).

This discussion has covered only a sampling of the practical and spiritual uses to which the various body parts of animals were put among the Cheyennes and Lakotas in historic times. Today, while few of the practical applications still stand many of the ceremonial uses continue to be carried on, especially in the context of healing, renewing sacred objects such as the Cheyennes' Sacred Arrows and Sacred Hat or the Lakota's Sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe, and in the context of both tribes' Sun Dances, sweat lodges, and fasting observances.

TABLE 5. List of Animals Historically Located at Wind Cave National Park Whose Body Parts Used In Healing and Religious Observance By The Cheyennes and Lakotas

Ungulates

Bison
Bighorn and Pronghorn
Elk
Mule Deer and Whitetail Deer

Carnivores

Badger and Skunk
Wolf, Coyote and Fox
Bear
Weasel
Mink, Weasel, and Otter

Small Herbivores

Beaver
Porcupine
Prairie Dog
Rabbit

Birds and Insects

Ant
Bat
Butterfly and Dragonfly
Grasshopper
Crow and Magpie
Duck and Geese
Eagle, Hawk, Falcon, and Vulture
Owl
Grouse and Turkey
Nighthawk and Swallow
Kingfisher, Flicker, and Woodpecker
Oriole, Meadowlark, and Tanager
Lark Sparrow and Yellow Warbler

Reptiles, and Amphibians

Frog and Turtle
Lizard and Salamander
Snake

VII. WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK AND THE ANIMALS

The land on which Wind Cave National Park stands occupies a significant place in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions about animal-human origins and relationships. This location has long been known as an important wintering ground for various ungulate species, most notably, the bison. The Buffalo Gap, a canyon ten miles due east of the cave's entrance, is formed by Beaver Creek as it makes its descent to the south fork of the Cheyenne River. It is widely recognized in European American and tribal historical documents as a passageway that ungulates used to enter the protective shelter of the Hills during the winter and a gateway they followed to leave the Hills for their feeding grounds on the open grasslands in the spring. Although pronghorn and deer certainly used it, and probably elk and bighorns too, it is most closely associated with the migratory patterns of the bison before they were extirpated from the area in the late nineteenth century. When ruminants wintered in the Hills, they typically fed on the rich grasses of the geologic depression known as the Red Valley or the Race Track, which encircles the Hills and crosses Wind Cave National Park. Today, this remains a favorite winter grazing location for the animals that were reintroduced to the park in the twentieth century (Turner 1974:16).

Prehistorically, the Race Track and the gateway canyons to the Black Hills contain some of the heaviest concentration of settlement sites. Their milder climate, sheltered recesses, available water and forage, not to mention their abundant supplies of game, made these locations highly desirable for establishing campsites from November to March. The advantages of these areas were well recognized in the historic era too, and there are scores of accounts (see Chapters Five and Seven) of tribes camping at these spots over the winter months. Once again, it needs to be pointed out that the Buffalo Gap was the place that Spotted Tail wanted for his agency in 1874, and the Race Track was the area that Red Cloud did not wish to cede in negotiations over the sale of the Black Hills to the U.S. Government in 1875.

The winter months were the time when the tribal nations of the Plains were the most sedentary and when their constituent bands remained in one location for the longest period of time. During this season, tribes broke up into smaller groupings, called *tiospaye* in Lakota and *manhao* in Cheyenne, that were large enough to offer protection but small enough to provide reliable and steady access to water, timber, food, and forage. This was the season for small group hunts that the Lakotas called the *tate*, and it was typically the time of the year that they relied on elk, mule deer, and whitetail deer as much as bison. At least in historic times, winter was not the season when the *wanisapa* or communal modes of hunting typically took place. These usually occurred during the late summer at locations some distance from the Black Hills. Before surround techniques on horseback dominated the bison hunting strategies of Plains Indians, however, a wide variety of communal driving techniques using enclosures and jumps were practiced during the late fall and early winter in pre-horse times. Some of them were implemented at locations inside the Hogback and at the canyon gateways into the Hills. Indeed, one site, the Sanson bison jump (CU02), is located on lands just south of the park.

Most of the animals that the Lakotas and Cheyennes depended upon for food, shelter, clothing, and tools and for spiritual protection and guidance frequented the lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park. With a few exceptions, the wolf and grizzly, which were extirpated from the area by the early twentieth century, most of the species these two tribes respected and relied upon for significant utilitarian or spiritual purposes are located on park lands today. In South Dakota at least, some of the most significant animals to tribal peoples, such as the elk, are rarely seen outside the Hills and their protected spaces. Thus, the Hills remain among the limited

number of places where local tribes are able to encounter certain species and the spirits that represent them.

There are many important stories, including some with sacred significance, about the area of Wind Cave National Park in the cultural traditions of the Lakotas and Cheyennes. Although the details of these stories are explored in greater depth in the next section, they all reveal in varying ways and degrees the fundamental dependence of the Lakota and Cheyenne peoples on the bison, not simply as a source of food, health, and protection, but as a source of their identity and as a model for understanding the workings of the universe. As pointed out earlier, even though bison (except for a few stragglers) had largely disappeared from the environs of the park by the 1850s, the area was indelibly inscribed in Lakota and Cheyenne beliefs as a place where the bison remained in a spiritualized state in their subterranean cavern homes, awaiting a propitious times to reappear on the earth's surface. This was *Tatanka makalhpaya, "*The Stomping Grounds of the Bison Bull," one of the most revered figures in Lakota cosmology. Even after the disappearance of local bison, the Lakotas continued to rely on this area as a winter camping ground because of the abundance of elk, mule deer, and other ungulates, all of which were under the patronage of the "chief" of all the animals, the bison and its spiritual representative, *Tatanka*.

What distinguishes the area of Wind Cave National Park and its environs, which also includes the Buffalo Gap and the Hot Springs, from other regions of the Hills is its cultural emphasis on the bison as a source of human well-being and regeneration. Some of the other animals of cultural significance to the Lakotas and Cheyennes are more closely identified with other regions of the Hills. Bears, for example, were connected in Lakota culture to Bear Butte, while wolves and other canines tend to be associated with this site in Cheyenne traditions. In the Wind Cave area, animals other than bison were important too, but only because they were connected to the drama of human-bison relationships.

Insofar as every species of mammal and bird found at Wind Cave National Park was represented among the animals that attended the famous race that formed the Red Valley or Race Track, the area continues to be thought of in relation to all animals (see Chapter Fourteen for more details on this story). Indeed, each animal present in the area has a potential symbolic connection to the story. In Cheyenne traditions, the magpie, flicker, crow, coot, and falcon are singled out as birds of special importance because they are the ones who actually "ran" against the bison and their teammates, winning the race for humans. Other animals mentioned in various versions of Cheyenne and Lakota traditions include the antelope, deer, elk, wolf, coyote, and eagle (Kroeber 1900:161-162; Densmore 1918:319; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-477; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:30; Grinnell, 1926:252-254; Randolph 1937:189-192; White Bull in Odell 1942:168; Mariott and Rachlin 1968:120-123; LaPointe 1976: 18-19; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1977:94-96; Walking Bull 1980:6-7; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:309-310; Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:390-392; Moore, J. 1984:296-297, 1996: 189-190; Black Elk, C. 1986d:200; Schwartz 1988:72; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:29).

In Lakota culture, there is another significant and highly sacred story about the area of Wind Cave National Park, and this is the story of their emergence from the underworld to the earth's surface through the opening at Wind Cave (Walker 1917:181-182; Dooling 2000:119-122). Besides the *Pte Oyate*, the Bison People, from whom humans originate, there are three other representations of animal nations in this highly sacred story: the wolf, the spider, and the snowbird. The wolf is an accomplice of the spider, *Inktomi*, in leading *Tokahe* and his followers out of the cave to the earth's surface. Once on the earth's surface, *Tokahe* receives a vision from a snowbird [*Junco Hyemalus*] that leads him and his followers to another cave with a spring and an ample supply of food stored by chipmunks, woodpeckers, and squirrels. The other humans, how-

ever, follow the deceptive magpie that only leads them to more hunger and misery (Walker 1983: 370-372).

Although not specifically linked to the major sacred stories of this particular area, the golden eagle might be culturally connected to the park area as well because this and the neighboring region of Custer State Park are areas in the Black Hills where this bird is most abundant. Historically, the Black Hills were identified with locations for trapping eagles and a place where visionary encounters with these birds typically took place. A more specific connection to the park area can be made on the grounds that bison and eagles are symbolically interchangeable and can stand for one another in Lakota thought. In addition, the eagle is closely connected to the sun, a companion of the bison, traveling at night to visit with them in their underground cavern home. Other flying nations are typically connected with other locations in the region, including, as one example, Harney Peak with the West Wind, hawks, and swallows.

Nor is there a great deal in Lakota or Cheyenne traditions that specifically connects most of the other carnivores and small herbivores to the area around Wind Cave. One possible exception is the porcupine. Some Cheyenne narratives about the Buffalo Gap and the Great Race (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-477) are connected to the story of the origin of quillwork and the founding of their *Me e no'ist st* Society, the prestigious quillworkers guild (Grinnell 1972:1:163-164, 2:385-391). Also, one Lakota story in the *Tokahe* emergence cycle tells how a man named *Pahin* [Porcupine] received instructions on how to make an altar and use deer skins in a sacred way (Walker 1983:378-379).

In Lakota traditions, there are also more general associations linked to the habits of burrowing animals whose behavior mimics the Lakota's own emergence from the underworld (Powers, W. 1986:113, 162). Soils and stones brought up from under the earth by prairie dogs, voles, ants, and badgers are believed to hold the purifying and life-generating properties of the subterranean world (Powers, W. 1982:13; 1986:113, 162). The location of their burrows, near the very site where the Lakota's own emergence is believed to have taken place, is highly significant, and as a result, the soils and stones brought up by the burrowers around Wind Cave would likely be sacred because they originate at the home not only of humans but also the bison -- the animal who represents the entire cosmos and who holds the mysteries of the universe. Also in Cheyenne traditions there are important symbolic connections between prairie dogs, corn, and bison and their mutual ties to the sun, which might, as argued in Chapter Fourteen and Fifteen, be connected in a special way to the Buffalo Gap (Moore, J. 1974a:164).

In relation to the animals that make up its landscape, the Lakotas and Cheyennes have a strong twofold relationship to the park and its environs. On the one hand their tie is based on a long history of occupation in the area, which was closely related to the habits and movements of the ruminant species they depended upon for their livelihood, especially the bison. On the other hand their connections to this area rest on a sacred understanding of the place as a site of animal/human origin and rebirth and a location where the very nature of human-animal relationships were set down.

The wildlife of the park has also drawn the interest of European Americans but often for vastly different reasons. In the early years of European American settlement local residents hunted the region's game for their own subsistence and for commercial reasons, purposes not very different from those of the area's original tribal occupants. After years of unmonitored killing, European Americans helped to drive many ungulates to the edge of extinction. The decline, especially of elk and mule deer, was not simply the result of over-hunting but also a consequence of competition from the animals European Americans introduced to the area.

Livestock often destroyed the forage on which local game survived. The negative impact of cattle eventually led, as described in Chapter Six, to growing restrictions on the release of grazing permits to ranchers by all federal agencies which managed public lands in the Black Hills and to the establishment of game preserves in the region where pronghorn, elk, and bison were reintroduced and protected from human predators. After restrictions were placed on hunting and livestock grazing, many of the large game species eventually rebounded in the Black Hills.

In contrast to the large ungulates, most of the region's carnivores were considered a menace not only to local livestock but also to the game being restocked and preserved on public lands. Wolves and grizzlies were hunted to extinction and systematically taken by ranchers and professional hunters hired by state and federal agencies, including the National Park Service. These large carnivores were once an essential part of the Hills' ecosystem, but neither has been reintroduced to the area. European American attempts to eradicate other large carnivores, including coyotes, bobcats, lynxes, and mountain lions, also took place with varying results. Over time, feline numbers were reduced, but the populations of the peripatetic coyote remained strong.

Today, the animals that remain on the lands of Wind Cave National Park primarily serve the interests of a spectating public. Although ungulate herds are culled and the meat donated to tribes and educational institutions, their presence no longer serves the interests of tribal or European American hunters. For European Americans, the animals are subjects of curiosity, either of a scientific or voyeuristic nature. They are certainly not an integral part of the religiosity of European Americans as they remain for local tribes, who continue to spiritually respect the animals that inhabit the park. Indeed, the park is a haven for a number of species that are rare or no longer exist on the lands where many of today's tribes live. As a result, the park and adjoining areas of the Black Hills remain an important location for some of these tribes to still encounter animals of considerable significance in their historic and modern cultural traditions.